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MEMOIRS

OF HIS OWN LIFE AND TIMES

BY SIR SAMUEL ROMILLY.

Twiss's
Memoirs
1632 - 1670

699 om

MDCCXXXII—MDCCLXX

MEMOIRS

OF HIS OWN LIFE AND TIMES.

BY SIR JAMES LOCKHART

PRINTED BY T. CONSTABLE,

M DCCC XXIX

MEMOIRS

OF HIS OWN LIFE AND TIMES

BY SIR JAMES TURNER.

M.DC.XXXII.—M.DC.LXX.

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT.

PRINTED AT EDINBURGH:

M.DCCC XXIX.

BIBLIOTHECA
REGIA
MONACENSIS.

At a Meeting of the Committee of Management of the Bannatyne Club, held at Edinburgh, on the 11th day of June, 1828.

It having been stated to the Meeting by the Vice-President, that "The Memoirs of Sir James Turner," from an original Manuscript in the possession of David Constable, Esq. Advocate, were in preparation for the press, it was

Resolved, That One Hundred Copies of the Work should be purchased for the use of the Club.

David Laing, *Secretary.*

THE BANNATYNE CLUB.

M.DCCC.XXIX.

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The besieged Dunaverlie, which kept out most
enough, till we stormd a trench they had at the foot of the
hill, whereby they commanded two steps of water, this we did
take. In the assault forte of them were put to the sword, we
left five or sixe, with Argiles Major. After this, Inexorable
Ehirst made them desire a parley; & was orderd to speake with
them, neither could the Lt Generall be moved to grant any other
conditions, then that they could yeeld on Discretion, or Mercy. And
it seemd strange to me to heare the Lt Generall's wise distinc
tion, that they could yeeld themselves to the kingdomes Mer
cy, and not to his: At length they did so, and after they were
come out of the Castle, They were sent to the sword, except
Mothers sonne, except one young man Mackuill, whose life
I begd to be sent to France with a hundreth countrey follows, whom
we had smoked out of a cave, as they doe foxes. Who were given
to Captaine Cambell, the Chancellors Brother.

PRELIMINARY NOTICE.

PRELIMINARY NOTICE.

THE work here given, under the title of MEMOIRS OF SIR JAMES TURNER, has been extracted from a volume of Discourses on various subjects of Philosophy and Literature, in the hand-writing of the author, compiled at different periods of his life; and with the different portions of which he has connected a history of himself, down to the date of the manuscript in the year 1670. The relation of these biographical portions of the volume to its other contents, will best appear from a short analysis of the whole, which is subjoined to this Preface; and on the part of the Editor it may be enough to add, that no liberty of the slightest kind has been taken with the author's composition, beyond that of separating these historical parts from the larger mass, and arranging them as a continuous narrative.

The hand-writing of Sir James Turner is sufficiently well known to place the genuineness of this manuscript beyond the possibility of a doubt; and of its fate subsequently to the author's death, some slight

notices have been preserved. He was survived by his wife, to whose worth so many affectionate tributes are paid in these Memoirs; and after his death, Lady Turner resided in the family of Lieutenant Richard Turnbull, of the Scots Dragoons, (whose wife was probably her near relation,) first in the neighbourhood of Glasgow, afterwards in the Island of Arran, at the White House of Lamlash, where she died, as is supposed, about the year 1716. To Mr and Mrs Turnbull, she is reported to have left a considerable sum of money, and other valuable property; and, in particular, there can be no doubt that they retained the possession of Sir James Turner's manuscripts.

These papers did not escape the notice and inquiries of the indefatigable Mr Robert Wodrow; and, in the valuable collection of his Correspondence, lately purchased by the Curators of the Advocates' Library, there are several letters on the subject, addressed to him by the Rev. James Boes, minister of Campbeltown. On the 8th of July, 1723, Mr Boes writes,—"I have caus'd enquyre at Mr Turnbull anent Sir James Turner's Memoirs, and find he has them, but is not willing to part with them, being, as he says, pre-ingadg'd to the D. of Hamiltone not to part with them till he see them. I shall deall with the Arran ministers to use their interest with him for a sight of them, under what security he shall demand; and if so, ye shall have an account of them one way or other." Again, on the 4th of February, 1724, Mr Boes reports to his correspondent as follows:—"I desired Mr Stuart, [minister of Kilbride,] in Arran, to procure a copy of Sir

Ja. Turner's manuscript, and particularly intreated him, which he promised to do. The person Turnbull who has it, tho otherwise a discreet man, yet is at the heart strongly prelatical, and a Jacobite, as is his wife. However, if it can be procured, doubt not of its being sent to you." These attempts had proved unsuccessful; and, in answer to a letter from Mr Wodrow, March 2, 1724, "praying the continuance of his endeavours to get a loan of Sir James Turner's papers from Mr Turnbull, if he would not part with them," Mr Boes writes, on 3d of November, 1724,—"I have done all I could, both here and in Arran, to procure that manuscript of Sir Ja. Turner, but without successe. Mr Turnbull is dead, and his relict, who is but ill affected to our interest, refuses to part with it, saying, she knows not where it is. However, if I can possibly procure it, ye shall have at least a copy, tho' I'm told by such as perused it, that it contains but a narrative of what he did there, with his orders, and reflections on what he calls the stiff humor, and obstinat refractory temper of the people oppressed and persecuted by him, which was all he had to say in his own justification."

After Mrs Turnbull's death, her effects passed into the possession of her nephew, William Wilson, a person of respectability in the island of Arran, who probably allowed the papers, so eagerly sought after by Wodrow, to remain undisturbed and uncared for. At the sale of his furniture, after his death in 1767, a strong box of nice and curious construction happened to attract the attention of Mr John Stuart, son of

the Rev. Gershom Stuart, minister of Kilbride, and grandson of the Rev. James Stewart, mentioned in Wodrow's Correspondence, then a youth of thirteen years old, and afterwards his father's successor. His importunities prevailed on his mother to purchase this box; and on examining it, young Stuart discovered the manuscript in question, together with a considerable number of letters addressed to Sir James Turner; all of which, though perfectly legible, had suffered great injury from damp. When he afterwards went to College at Glasgow, he carried this manuscript with him, and placed it in the hands of Robert and Andrew Foulis, the celebrated printers of that University, with permission to print such parts of it as they might think fit. This, however, was declined, and the manuscript remained in the possession of Mr Stuart till about twenty years ago, when it was brought into notice by the publication of a few extracts in a provincial newspaper. It passed afterwards into the hands of a bookseller at Greenock, from whom, it is believed, it was purchased about ten years ago, by the late Mr Archibald Constable, whose intention it certainly was to have published the historical portions of the volume. The manuscript is now the property of David Constable, Esq. advocate; and with his permission the present edition of these Memoirs has been prepared.

To the Memoirs are here added, in an Appendix, the Letters addressed to Sir James Turner, found in his strong-box or cabinet; which, although not perhaps of very deep historical importance, throw some

scattered lights on the course of his life for several years after his removal from military employment, and will be found to exhibit some amiable contrasts to those darker impressions of his character, which have been too deeply, and, it is to be feared, too justly stamped on the contemporary history of his age, ever to be effaced.

At every period of his life, Sir James Turner appears to have been much addicted to literary composition. Besides his printed works, of which "*Pallas Armata*,—Essays on the Art of War," is the most considerable, he left various manuscripts; but among these, little of any value as a fit addition to this historical work has been found, excepting a few remarks on Bishop Guthry's Memoirs. These are valuable, as the testimony, in most instances, of an eye-witness, and have been, accordingly, introduced into the Appendix to this volume, printed from the original manuscript in the Advocates' Library.

In the same Library there is preserved a copy of another work, entitled "Buchanan Revis'd; or, Animadversions on the Historie of "Scotland, and a Dialogue *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*, both write "by Mr George Buchanan." This work is in its nature controversial, and intended to counteract the anti-monarchical principles of the writings which he undertakes to criticise; but in the Introduction, Sir James Turner has given some few additional notices of himself, which it has been thought worth while to quote in the Appendix.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX.

I. ANALYSIS OF THE CONTENTS OF THE MANUSCRIPT FROM WHICH SIR JAMES TURNER'S MEMOIRS HAVE BEEN EXTRACTED.

P. 1. "*The Introduction to these Discourses, wherein are contained the most remarkable Passages of my Life, till my releasment out of Prison at Hull, in the Year* 1649."

P. 68. The following Essays or Discourses, are of—(1) Dueties of Soveraigns and Subjects.—(2) The Supreme pouer in all Repuplicks.—(3) Monarchie.—(4) Aristocracie.—(5) Democracie.—(6) Orators and Preachers.—(7) Magicks.—(8) The Jews Cabale.—(9) Friendship.—(10) Externall Evills and Misfortunes.—(11) Imprisonment.—(12) Anger.—(13) Revenge.—(14) Duells.—(15) Crueltie.

P. 192. A Letter from Don Francisco of Quevedo to Philander of Sitmald, who wrote the Continuation of Quevedos Visions. Concerning some Discourses which passed in the Infernall Court betweene the late Vsurper Oliver Cromwell, the late Chancellor of Sweden, Axell Oxesterne, and the Lord Wilienstrome. Sent by the Post of Hell. In yeare 1659. Englished out of the Hie Dutche.

P. 230. A Defence of some Ceremonies of the English Liturgie—to wit:

Bowing at the name of Jesus.

The frequent repetition of the Lord's Prayer, and good Lord deliver us.

Of the Doxologie.

Of Surplesses, Rotchets, and Canonicall Coats.

P. 271. "*A full Narration of the Insurrection in Scotland towards the latter end of the Yeare* 1666, *and of my Misfortunes following thereupon.*"

P. 272. "*In the Introduction are contained the remarkable Passages of my Life, from my releasment out of Prison at Hull, in* 8^{ber} 1649 *till* 9^{ber} 1663. *The rest are narrated in the Narration till the Yeare of God* 1670."

P. 308. *The Narration.*

P. 387. The Concomretancie of Joy and Griefe. (*in verse.*)

P. 389. Two Heroicall Epistles, supposed to haue beene writ by Mahomet the Great and Irene, the faire Greeke.

Composed before I was ane and twentie yeares of age.

P. 403. End of the two Epistles.

P. 404. Ane Elegie on the Death of the Earle of Lothian. Designed by William Douglas of Tofts

"The Argument.—It wants but a few yeares of halfe ane age since the Earle of Lothian's death made a great noyse in the world: The strange manner of it furnishing matter of strange discourses to people of all rankes and qualities. He was a person of a great spirit, endued with excellent parts. He had seene the most renouned places of Europe. Naturally curious he was, which perhaps made him studie Astrologie. He made choyce of William Douglas of Tofts to be his freend, his confident, and his *alter ego*. This was a gentleman of a good spirit, generous, and learned *in omni scibili*, especially in the Mathematickes, wherein he had attained to so great a perfection, that he had no equal in his oune countrey, perhaps few in Christendome. As intimate as he was with the Earle, it is cleare enough, by his oune complaints, that he was not entrusted with the secret of his death. He either finish'd, or intended to finish, the composition of ane Elegie on this sad subject. In the yeare 1662, I fortund to be in the Mers, wher I gave a visite to Archbald Douglas of Lumsden, brother to this Tofts, where he shew me this peece, pitifullie torne, mutilated, defective in most places, and writ with a very bad orthographie. He and I having long befor contracted a strict enough friendship in Germanie, he prayed me to look on it, and to take a litle paines to reduce it to some good order, at least to make it intelligible,

for the memory of his noble brother who design'd it. And certainly the original wanted his last hand to it, or that copie which his brother gave me was exceidinglie imperfite. I tooke it with me to Edinburgh; foure days I spent before I could get it red, and foure more before I could vnderstand or guesse at the scope of it. At length I put it in that garbe in which it is now to be seene, and sent it to my friend."

P. 429. MISCELLANIES written at several times for DIVERTISEMENT.—The PREFACE.—FRANCESCO PETRARCHA.—EDWARD THE THIRD, KING OF ENGLAND.—PHILIP THE SECOND, KING OF SPAIN.—LUCRETIA ROMANA.—LUCRETIA BORGIA.—LUCRETIA MARINELLA.—ORLANDO.—ENHARD and IMA, [*i. e.* EGINHARD and EMMA.]—JULIUS SCALIGER.—MARY STEUART, QUEEN OF SCOTS.—RAYMUNDUS LULLUS.—THE STRANGE EVENT OF A DISPUTE IN RELIGION.—CARDINAL MAZARINE.—THE KING'S EVILL.—WALLENSTEIN, DUKE OF FRIEDLAND.—GEORGE VILLIERS, DUKE OF BUCKINGHAME.—MARY TOUTHER, QUEENE OF ENGLAND.—CHARLES GUSTAVE, KING OF SWEDEN.—CHRISTINA, QUEENE OF SWEDEN.

END.

II. EXTRACT FROM THE INTRODUCTION TO "BUCHANAN REVISED," &c.

"I BEGAN to write these papers which follow, in the year of God 1643, in Ireland, bot made no great progresse in them, being otherwayes imployed there, and afterwards in Scotland and England: Bot fyve years after that, being prisoner in Hull, in England, from September 1648, till November 1649, I had leasure and opportunitie enough to write; and such was the civilitie of Colonell Overtoun, then governour of that towne, that he permitted the stationers to furnish me with any books I call'd for, the peruseall whereof I had at an easie rate per week; nor did he hinder me to write any thing my fancie led me to; and when I had gott my libertie mostly procur'd by him, he suffered not any of my papers to be search'd, though in severalls of them I had write my opinions very freely of the King's murther, and that of James Duke of Hamiltone, and of the change of monarchy in a pretended commonwealth. There it was that I finish'd all I intended to say of Buchanans writeings; but my papers were all taken and destroyed by the Cromuelians, in the year 1651, when Dundee was taken, sack'd, and plundered by Generall Monck, who liv'd to doe more acceptable service to God and his Prince, and all the three kingdomes. I had car'd the lesse for the destruction of these papers, if I had not lost better moveables; bless'd be God for his mercy in saving my wife from being kill'd by these furious plunderers. Four years after that, in the year 1655, I found myself in good enough leasure in Bremen, a toune in Germanie, to resume my former labour, which encouraged me to write over most of what I had said before on that subject; and in the year 1659, I finished them at the Hagg, in Holland. All these papers lay by me almost in loose sheets, till the year 1669, a year after I had laid down my commissions, and then I had leisure more then enough to write them over in mundo; and indeid they have lyen ever since in parcells by me, till in this year 1679, I was mov'd by a very accidentall emergencie, to cause bind them together in one book, as now you see them."

MEMOIRS OF SIR JAMES TURNER;

PART FIRST,

WHEREIN ARE CONTAINED

THE MOST REMARKABLE PASSAGES OF HIS LIFE

TILL HIS RELEASEMENT OUT OF PRISON

AT HULL IN THE YEAR 1649.

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SIR JAMES TURNER'S MEMOIRS.

I WAS not ſeventeene yeares old when I left the ſchooles, where haveing lightlie paſſed thorough that courſe of philoſophie which is ordinarlie taught in the univerſities of Scotland, I was commanded by my father and grandfather to commence Maſter of Arts at Glaſgow, much againſt my will, as never intending to make uſe of that title which undeſervedlie was beſtowed upon me, as it was on many others before me, and hath beene on too many ſince. I stayd a yeare after with my father at Dalkeith, applying myſelfe to the ſtudie of humane letters and hiſtorie, in bothe which I allways tooke delight. I did reade alſo the controverſies of religion betweene us and the Roman Catholickes, (for the Preſbyterians at that time made litle or no noyſe,) wherby I might be enabled to diſcern the truth of the Proteſtant perſuaſion and the fallacies of the Popiſh one or any other, that ſo I might not, in traverſing the world, be carried away with everie wind of doctrine. Bot before I attaind to the eighteenth yeare of my age, a reſtles deſire enterd my mind, to be, if not an actor, at leaſt a ſpectator of theſe warrs which at that time made ſo much noyſe over all the world, and were managd againſt the Roman Emperour and the

Catholicke League in Germanie, under the auſpitious conduct of the thrice famous Guſtavus Adolphus, King of Sueden. Sir James Lumſdaine was then levieing a regiment for that ſervice; with him, (my neereſt freinds conſenting to it,) I engaged to go over enſigney to his brother Robert Lumſdaine, eldeſt captaine; who ſince that time was a generall major, and tuo days before the king was routed at Worceſter, was killed at Dundee, (where he was governour,) in cold blood, ane houre after he had got quarter.

It was about Lambes of the yeare 1632, that we came before Elſennure in Denmark, where we ſtayd three days, and therafter landed at Roſtock in the Dutchie of Mecklenburg; from whence we marched to the Archbiſhoprick of Bremen, where, whether with the change of aire or dyet, or by eating too much fruit, (wherof I ſaw that countrey abound more than my oune,) or all three, I fell grieveouſlie ſicke. My fever keepd me ſixe weeks, and by that time I was able to walke abroad, we were ſent to reduce some obſtinate countries to order, and force them to ſubmit to the Suediſh yoake. This provd a hard and ſevere winter to me and all of us, who knew not before what it was not to have tuo or three meals aday, and goe to bed at a ſeaſonable houre at night.

The King of Suedens victories had carried him ſo far up in Germanie, that we never came to ſee him. At the time of our arriveall, his fortune beganne to decline; for at Nuremberg, truſting to that prodigious ſucceſſe which had attended all his former undertakeings, he ſtormed a well fortified campe entrenchd on a hill, in which were tuo armies; the Imperiall under Wallenſtein, and that of the League under the Elector of Bavaria. As this was a raſh, ſo it proved an unfor-

tunate .....; for beaten he was with the loſſe of neere foure thouſand killed on the place, among whom were many bravé ..... and gentlemen. Neere ſixe thouſand wounded, ſo that all the hoſpitalls and lazarettos of Nuremberg were ſufficientlie filld. Nixt November, this magnanimous king, endeavouring to ſave the Duke of Saxe his lands from the same Wallenstein, loſd his life at the battel of Lutſen, which notwithſtanding was wonne by the conduct and valour of Bernard Duke of Weimar. In Februare 1633, a ſtrong and veterane armie of the Sueds came to the Lower Germanie, under the command of George Duke of Brunſwick and Luneburg as generall, and Dodo Baron of Kniphauſen as felt marſhall, with which joynd Lumſdains Scots regiment, and one Engliſh one under the ſame Colonell Aſhton who was killed at Tradaff or Drogheda in Ireland, where he was governor, where all were put to the ſuord by Cromwell in the yeare 1649.

With this armie I had a lamentable cold, wet and rainie march, till we layd ſiege to the ſtrong toune of Hammelln, which held out, with the deſtruction of multitudes of our men, till the 28th of June, and till the two earles Merod and Grünffield, both Imperiall generalls, came with an armie of 20,000 men to relieve it. We broke up, and met them foure Engliſh miles from thence, and fought them. This was a battell wherin ſo much blood was ſhed, as was enough to flesh ſuch novices as I was. We gaind the victorie, which was a great one to be gaind with ſo little loſſe on our ſide. Neere nine thouſand of the Imperialiſts were killd in the place, three thouſand taken, with eighteene canon, and above eightie ſtandards and collors. The toune yeelded therafter on articles. After this battell, I saw a great many killd in cold blood

by the Finns, who profeſſe to give no quarter. The whole time of this ſiege, my best entertainment was bread and water, abundance of the laſt, but not ſo of the first; but this proceeded from want of money, for the leager was plentiful enough. The reſt of this ſummer, nixt harveſt and nixt winter, I was at the ſieges of ſeverall towns and castles, and at many bruſhes, encounters and .....; and all the time ſufferd exceeding great want of both meate and clothes, being neceſſitated to ly conſtantly in the fields with little or no ſhelter, to march allways a foot, and drinke water; ſo that then I could verifie that which I had ſo often heard at ſchoole, *Dulce bellum inexpertis.* And indeed I was ſo hardend with fatigue, that thogh at firſt I longd to be backe at Scotland, yet being ſo well inurd to toile, I fullie reſolved to goe on in that courſe of life of which I had made choyce, and I thought then I could have livd all my days on a very ſpare dyet, and without a bed too; ſo true it is that *Habitus eſt altera natura.*

In the beginning of the yeare 1634, our English and Scotch regiments, such as they were, came to be quartered at that Oldendorpe neere to which the battell was fought. I was lodged in a widows house, whoſe daughter, a young widow, had been married to a rittmaſter of the Emperors. She was very handſome, wittie and diſcreet; of her, thogh my former toyle might have baniſhed all love thoughts out of my mind, I became perfitlie enamourd. Heere we ſtayd ſixe weeks, in which time ſhe taught me the Hie Dutch, to reade and write it, which before I could not learne bot very rudlie from ſojors. Haveing then the countrey language, I learnd alſo the faſhions and cuſtomes of the Germane officers; and about this time was both regiments reducd to tuo companies; tuo captaine lieutenants, and tuo enſigneys, (wherof

I was one,) onlie ordaind to ſtand; all the reſt caſheerd, and in great neceſſitie and povertie. The tuo companies were bot badlie uſed, toſſed to and fro, in conſtant danger of ane enemie, and without pay. Bot I had learnd ſo much cunning, and became ſo vigilant to lay hold on opportunities, that I wanted for nothing, horſes, clothes, meate, nor moneys; and made ſo good uſe of what I had learned, that the whole time I ſervd in Germanie, I ſufferd no such miſerie as I had done the firſt yeare and a halfe that I came to it.

It was in this yeare that the Emperors Generaliſſimo Wallenſtein, intending to betray his maſter, familie and armie, [was put to] death by Gordon and Leſlie at Egar in Bohemia, by the way of fact, *per viam facti*, as they call it, becauſe by the way of right, or *de jure*, he was ſo ſtrong as he could not be proceeded againſt. The actors were well rewarded by the Emperour, eſpeciallie Leſlie. Ferdinand the Second entruſts the conduct of his forces to his ſonne the King of Hungarie, who, with the help of the Cardinall Infant, brother to the King of Spaine, gave a total defeate to tuo Suediſh armies, under the command of Bernard Duke of Weimar and the Suediſh field-marſhall Guſtave Horne. Sixe thouſand or therby, wherof our tuo companies made up ſome part, were on our march to Nordling, where the battell was fought, to have reinforcd the Sueds; and were within a few leagues of Frankford du Mein when we heard of the rout, and ſo were countermanded to Weſtphalia. By this one blow the Sueds looſd more ground then they had gaind in a yeare before; and nixt yeare moſt of the Dutch princes made their peace with the Emperor.

Touards the latter end of this yeare, my fathers death calld me to Scotland to give my mother a viſite, where I was forcd to ſtay longer

then I intended; for the froſt continued that winter univerſallie through Europe till the midſt of March 1635. In the ſummer I returned, and being informed at my landing at Bremen, that ſome officers intended to goe from Hamburg to Perſia, I reſolvd to make one of that number, and upon that account went thither; where I found many of my countreymen, ſome Engliſh and ſome Germans, great with child of that expedition, wherin they promiſd themſelves more gold then the philoſophers ſtone can afford the alchymiſts. The matter was this. The Duke of Holſtein Gottorff intended to ſet up a trade with Perſia, for ſilks to be tranſported from Hircania thorough the Caſpian ſea, and then up the great river Volga, from thence to Riga, then to Holſtein. The Sophi of Perſia was contented ane embaſſador ſould be ſent to treate with him concerning the traffique, bot that the embaſſador ſould bring with him as many officers as poſſiblie he could, to traine the Perſian foot, wherin he was farre inferior to the Turke. A number of us were to goe as members of the embaſſadors houſhold and traine, becauſe the Great Duke of Muſco, being at peace with the Grand Seigneur, wold not ſuffer us to goe otherwiſe; bot the Ruſſe hearing the deſigne, wrote to the Duke that he wold not ſuffer his envoy to paſſe with ſuch followers. After I had ſpent ſome of my moneys at Hamburg, and got a promiſe of the directors of that expedition, that roome ſould be keepd for me if the voyage went on, I went to Oſnaburg, where my colonell Sir James Lumſdaine was governour. The Perſian expedition was bloune up by the perfidie of the Dukes embaſſador, who reveald the whole plot to the Turke; for which he had his head ſtrucke of at his return from Perſia, having deſervd a more ignominious death. At my arrival at Lumſdaines garriſon, I found my place was diſpoſed to ane other, which

I lookd upon as no fair play, being done contrare to promiſe. I was forcd to ſtay there. Sir James goeing away, and the Imperialiſts prevaileing everie where, Oſnaburg is blockd up by the Marques of Grana. This blocquado was couſine german to a ſeege; in the time wherof I came againe in employment.

Nixt ſummer the Sueds prevaile; old Leſlie is made our fieldmarſhall, (Kniphauſen being killd,) and King his lieutenant generall; they beate away the Marques, who beſeegd us in Oſnaburg, joyns with the Landtgrave of Heſſen, and with joynt forces beates Lamboy and ſome other of the Emperors generalls, who had beſeegd the ſtrong toune of Hanaw two yeares, and put freſh proviſion in it. Heere was Sir James Ramſay governour. After this Leſlie joynes with Banier, and both of them fought with the Duke of Saxe, and ane Imperiall armie at Woodſtocke, where they gaind a compleate victorie.

In the yeare 1637, I went with ſome commanded men, with Lieutenant Generall King, into the land of Heſſen, to aſſiſt the Landgrave to beate ſome Imperiall regiments out of his territories, who indeed were makeing havocke of all among his poore ſubjects. Upon our approach they retird; bot thogh we were tuo to one againſt them at leaſt, and that Bigod, who commanded them, made a ſtand at Eſhvegen, yet did we retire in great haſte, thogh in good enough order, back to Caſſels the Landgraves reſidence and capitall citie, and left the poor countrey to the mercy of ane enraged enemie, who had order by fire and ſword to force the Landgrave to accept of the peace of Prague. Neither did Bigod ſpare to burn three faire tounes, Eſchvegen, Olendorpe and Vitſenhauſen before our eyes. A mournfull ſight it was, to ſee the whole people folow us, and climbe the tuo hie rockes which flanked us. Old

and young left their houſes, by the loſſe of them and their goods to ſave their lives. Aged men and women, many above fourſcore, moſt lame or blind, ſupported by their ſonnes, daughters and grandchildren, who themſelves carried their little ones on their backes, was a ruthfull object of pitie to any tender hearted Chriſtian, and did ſhow us with what dreadfull countenance that bloodie monſter of warre can appear in the world. Neither did our feare, (which often maſks itſelf with reaſon of ſtate, as then it did,) permit us to make any ſtay at Caſſels, bot pouſd us with ſome haſte to Weſtphalia. As we paſd by a litle toune called Brokle, where lay ane Imperiall garriſon, a great many of them had ſallied out, lind the hedges and annoyd the Heſſich, who that day had the vant; which when King ſaw, he commanded this Sir Edward Bret and me, with each of us fiftie muſketeers, to beate them in; which we did, with a great loſſe to them, and of three or four of our oune men. Therafter finding no enemie in the field to oppoſe us, the Landgrave and King beſeeged the litle bot indeed ſtrong toune of Vecht, in which was Luterſam, the Elector of Collens lieutenant generall. This ſiege we plyd ſo briſklie, that within eight days it yeelded on articles. From thence we runne to the ſiege of Furſtanaw, which, when we had inveſted, the Landgrave, by the tolleration, perhaps advice, of the eſtates of Holland, broke up with his armie and marched into Eaſt Freezland, where nixt winter he dyed. Bot his armie, under the command of Lieutenant Generall Melander, quarterd there tuo yeares at leaſt; wher they made themſelves ſo ſtrong, that therwith the brave Princeſſe Emilia, Landgraves, in the minoritie of her pupill ſonne, of whom ſhe was Regent, did theſe feates in oppoſition to the Emperor Ferdinand the Third, as hath made herſelfe famous to the world, and much

enlargd the territories of that proteſtant prince. After this ſeparation, Lieutenant Generall King was forcd to breake vp the ſiege, and put his litle armie in guarriſon. Nixt yeare he joynd at Statlone, in the biſhoprick of Munſter, with Prince Palatine, and beſeegd Lemgo; but the ſudden approach of Count Hatſfeld with ane Imperiall armie obligd them to get them gone; bot was overtaken by him neere Vlotho, and there rather ſhamfullie routed then overthroune, where Prince Rupert and the Lord Craven were taken, with many brave gentlemen more. Nixt ſpring I fell grievouſlie ſicke of a tertian, which keepd me full ſeventeene weekes.

It is not my purpoſe to relate all the great actions were done in Germanie during my aboade there, that being the ſubject of ane other ſtorie; or yet of all the occurrences befell myſelfe, that wold be tedieous; and therfore I ſhall ſay, that haveing paſſd thorough the ſeverall charges of enſigney, lieutenant, captaine lieutenant, and captaine, after I had recovered of my ague, being diſcontented with my colonell, one Plettemberg a Courlander, for impoſeing too hard conditions of recruts on me, I tooke my leave of that ſervice in the frontiers of Franconia, and went ſtraight to Scotland, to look for ſome employment under the Prince Elector, who as I heard, by order of parliament, was to levie ten thouſand men in that kingdome. Being arrivd I found indeed a parliament ſitting in the yeare 1639, where E. Traquair was commiſſioner; but no word of levies for Germanie, but verie great rumours of civile warrs. I ſtayd bot one fortnight there. At my return to Germanie nixt winter, I engadged to raiſe a companie of Germans vnder one Colonell Burgſdorff, who paſt then vnder the reputation of a brave and honeſt cavalier; bot I found he was more obliged to report than he

deſerved; for he cheated me ſhamefullie by giveing up his capitulation, laying the blame on Felt marſhall Banier having ſtrengthened his regiment with five and forty men which I had levied on my owne charges, which could coſt me no leſſe than foure hundreth dollars; so many leviers there were for ſeverall intereſts, and ſo knaviſh the ſojors.

This abuſe obligd me to goe to Sueden, to complaine to theſe who were Adminiſtrators dureing the minoritie of Queene Chriſtina. I went in companie with Sir James Lumſdaine, whoſe regiment I had left foure yeares before, and Colonell David Leſley, ſince Lord Neuarke. We ſhipd at Lubeck, and after a fortnights toyle at ſea, we landed at Stokholme the capitall citie of that kingdome; much beautified ſince with theſe ſumptuous and magnificent palaces which the Suediſh generalls have built, as monuments of theſe riches they acquired in the long German warre. There I ſaw one of the faireſt caſtles, and of the greateſt reception, of anie I ever lookd on, all coverd with copper, of which mettall that kingdome abounds. It ſtands on a prettie aſcending hill from the ſea; and under it, for moſt part, rides the navie royall, compoſd of great and tall ſhips, carrying ſome 50, ſome 60, ſome 70, and ſome eightie braſſe guns. The Queene was then about fourteene yeares old, applying herſelfe much to learne forreine languages, and to the ſtudie of theſe ſciences, which by the ſtrength of her .... naturall endowments ſhe ſoone acquired, which has made her ſo famous all the world over. Her mother, a beautifull and vertuous princeſſe, at this ſame time when I was at Stokholme, ſtole away out of Sueden, being neceſſitated ſo to doe by the rude entertainment given her by the five Adminiſtrators; bot within a few yeares brought backe with honor by her daughter, after ſhe had tane the reines of the government in her

oune hands. Her coufine german, the Palfgrave Charles Guftav, fince that time king, and famous enough for the fhort time of his raigne, was juft then returned from his travells in Italie, France, England and Germanie.

I petitiond the Councell, and made my particular application to the renouned Chancellor Oxeftern, who, as he had with admirable prudence and fucceffe mannagd the warre in Germanie after the king his maſters death, with the title of Director of the Evangelicke League and Plenipotentiarie Legat for Sueden, ſo I found that in Sueden itſelfe, he governed all affaires of ſtate both forreine and domeſtick. After ſixe weeks staye, they offerd me a letter to Field marſhall Banier, to cognoſce on the difference betueene Burgſdorff and me. But knowing well enough to what litle purpoſe I ſould make ſo expenſive and dangerous a journey to find out Banier, who in purſueance of his good fortune had enterd Bohemia, I defird my paſſe, which was granted me, and with it as much money as I ſuppoſe I had ſpent at that Court. Haveing ſignified my defire to goe to Gottenberg, and there to ſhip for Scotland, they gave me the Queens paſſe for free horſes, meate and drink by the way; a cuſtome much in uſe then, and very grievous to the poore countrey men, ſince juſtlie abrogated by a law.

I did well perceave the Adminiſtrators encouragd all my countreymen to goe home, old Generall Leſlie being then to enter England with ane armie; and there is no doubt but that rebellion, whereof he was heade, was fomented by both Sueden and France; the late king in the yeare 1630, haveing made peace with Spaine, ſo much to the prejudice of the ambitious deſignes of theſe tuo crounes. I was no leſſe then a fortnight in travelling to Gottemberg, thogh in Auguſt 1640; yet it is bot

fiftie Suediſh leagues, each wherof we can compute to be no leſſe then ſixe Engliſh miles at leaſt. At my arriveall there, I underſtood there were tuo ſhips lying at Millſtrand in Norway, three Suediſh miles from Gottemberg, one ane Engliſhman bound for Hull, ane other a Dane bound for Leith.

I had ſwallowed without chewing, in Germanie, a very dangerous maxime, which militarie men there too much follow; which was, that ſo we ſerve our maſter honneſtlie, it is no matter what maſter we ſerve; ſo, without examination of the juſtice of the quarrell, or regard of my duetie to either prince or countrey, I reſolved to goe with that ſhip I firſt rencounterd. After tuo days neceſſare ſtay at Gottenberg, I hired a boat and went away in the evening; we rowed all night, and haveing paſd tuo Suediſh caſtles, about breake of day we came neere Millstrand. Underſtanding the wind blew faire for both ſhips, I was adviſd to ſtep out, and goe a foot ſtraight thorough the toune to the ſhoare, it being the neerer cut, whill the boate went a greater way about with my ſervant and coffer. I did ſo, and came juſt there as the Engliſhman was hoyſeing his ſailes. I aſkd him if he wold give me paſſage to Hull, (a place I have ſince beene too well acquainted with,) who told me he wold with all his heart, provided I wold preſentlie ſtep in. I beſeeched him to ſtay till my ſervant and coffer came, without whom I could not goe; bot no intreatie or prayer could prevaile with the inexorable ſkipper, for away he flew from me, as ane arrow from a bow. This onlie hinderd me to preſent my endeavors to ſerve the King againſt the Covenanters. I calld inſtantlie for the Dane who was bound for Scotland, reſolving to ſerve either the one or the other without any reluctance of mind; ſo deeplie was that baſe maxime rooted in

my heart. The people pointed with their fingers to the ſhip, which had got a great way out from the ſhoare, and ſtayd there for a paſſenger whom the ſkipper had promiſd to carry to Edinburgh. He was ane old man, who at taking his farewell of his friends the night before, had drunke ſo much that he had ſleepd his time. Immediatlie I clapd in freſh men in my boate, the others being overwearied with rowing, and ſo came to the ſhip; neither did the ſkipper make any ſcruple to reſſave me, thogh at firſt he conceaved his old man was in my companie. To the neglect of this old man, nixt to all ruleing providence, may I attribute my goeing at that time to Scotland. On the ſixth day after my embarkeing, we ſaw ourſelvs not farre from Aberdeene. I was glad we were ſo farre north, becauſe I had heard the kings ſhips were in the firth; bot I was miſtaken, for they were gone; and no matter they had been gone ſooner, for any good ſervice they did the king there. The ſkipper ſet me aſhore at a place called the Cove, from thence I hired horſes to Edinburgh. This was in the month of September; and Generall Leſlie haveing marchd into England, with a numerous armie at the Lambes before, and put my Lord Conway with some of the kings forces to a ſhamefull retreat at Newburne, had made himſelf maſter of Neucaſtle, and all the Biſhoprick of Durham. I found this ſucceſſe had elevated the minds of my countreymen in generall to ſuch a height of vanitie, that moſt of them thought, and many ſaid, they ſould quicklie make a full conqueſt of England; bot time hath ſhoune them ſince that they made their reckoning without their hoſt, for the very contrare fell out.

After a ſhort ſtay at Edinburgh, I rode ſtraight to Neucaſtle, where I found all offices and charges of the armie filld up except one, which

was the majors place of my Lord Kirkkubrights regiment, which confiſted of the men of Galloway, a place and a people fatall to me. The Earle of Rothes, father to this lord chancellor, profeſſing very great kindnes to me, eaſilie perſuaded the generall to beſtow that charge on me; who otherwiſe bore me bot little good will, for ſome differences had beene betueene his brother and me in Germanie, where I accuſd him of eleven points of treaſon; bot the controverſie betueene him and me was decided by a canon bullet, which tooke away his heade. In that charge I continued ten months in England, a ceſſation of armes being everie month renewed betueene the Royaliſts and Covenanters.

The blacke Parliament of England having ſtrucke of Straffords loyall heade, impriſond the Archbiſhop of Canterburrie, and frighted all the ſtatſmen and courtiers who might oppoſe them beyond ſeas, they got the king to paſſe the bill for trienniall parliaments, and ane other for the preſent one to ſit as long as it pleaſed. They had no more uſe for the Scots armie, and therfore after haveing given a brotherlie preſent of three hundreth thouſand pounds ſterline, (a very kind and loveing compliment,) they ſent them home to their oune countrey richer, I ſuppoſe, then when they came out of it. All this while I did not take the Nationall Covenant, not becauſe I refuſed to doe it, for I wold have made no bones to take, ſueare and ſigne it, and obſerve it too; for I had then a principle, haveing not yet ſtudied a better one, that I wrongd not my conſcience in doeing any thing I was commanded to doe by theſe whom I ſerved. Bot the truth is, it was never offerd to me; everie one thinking it was impoſſible I could get into any charge, unles I had taken the Covenant either in Scotland or England.

The king, in his paſſing to Scotland, had viewd the Scots armie as

it lay quarterd in the Biſhoprick and Northumberland. When we came home all were diſbanded, except three regiments which had not at all beene in England. One was under Major Generall Monro, the ſecond under Colonell Cochran, both which were quarterd neere Edenburgh. The third, conſiſting of ſixe companies of Orkney and Cathnes men, was under my Lord Sinclar, and lay at Aberdeene. The Parliament of Scotland wold needs ſit before the king came, for ſuch was their pleaſure; and when he came, it did what it pleaſed; my lord Argile, at that time created Marques, carrying all before him. He got a creature of his oune, and of his oune name, to be chanclor, to the diſparagement of a farre honeſter man, the Earle of Morton, Argiles oune father in law and benefactor. Heere the king gave way to his parliament to diſpoſe of all offices of ſtate, and of his forts, caſtles and militia, all of them undoubted prerogatives of the Croune. Ane act of oblivion wold not ſerve this parliament, for their takeing armes againſt the king; it muſt be ane act of juſtification, which paſſd with the kings conſent. Preſbiterian government is heere eſtabliſhed, and Epiſcopacie abrogated by law; the king out of his goodnes granting all they deſired, thinking thereby to gaine them; and indeed it was his conſtant fate and practice to impouer his enemies to doe him more and more miſchiefe. This he felt before tuo yeares went about; and even then he might have ſeene their wickednes, when they wounded his honor irreparablie, by makeing the people beleeve he intended either to put Marques Hamilton and Argile aboord one of his ſhips, and ſend them priſoners to England, or to aſſaſſinate them in his palace of Halyroodhouſe; which horrible calumnie theſe tuo lords ſeconded, by their counterfeit flight out of Edinburgh to Kinneil.

In the latter end of October 1641, came the lamentable news of the execrable rebellion of Ireland, in which ſo many thouſands of innocent Proteſtants, both Scots and Engliſh, men and women, young and old, were put to cruell deaths by the barbarous and ſavage Iriſh. The parliament of England ſent over preſent ſuccours; that of Scotland offers ten regiments of foot, each conſiſting of one thouſand men, to maintaine the Proteſtant intereſt in Ireland, bot to be entertaind by England. The proffer is accepted, and old Leſlie, newly created Earl of Leven, for his ſucceſſfull rebellion againſt the king, is appointed to be generall of theſe 10,000 men, againſt the rebells in Ireland, who (had they not ſhed ſo much blood,) did no more againſt his majeſtie, then Leven himſelfe had done.

Monro and Cochran ar ordaind in the ſpring to goe over to Craigfergus with their regiments; the firſt hath a commiſſion to be governour of the toune and caſtle of Craigfergus, and major generall of the ten regiments; the ſecond is caſheerd for offering to be loyall. My Lord Sinclars ſixe companies are reducd to foure, and they orderd to go over with Monro, till my lord raiſed ſixe more to make up his regiment compleate. The other ſeven regiments were to be tranſported ſo ſoone as they were levied. A litle before the report of the rebellion came to Scotland, my Lord Sinclars major dyed, whoſe place my lord was pleaſed to beſtow on me; a favour (in regard he had then choyce of a hundreth more ſufficient) I can never either remember or mention bot with much thankfullnes. His brother was his lieutenant colonell, with whom I ſtayd at Aberdeene ſome part of that winter, and touards the ſpring marchd ſouthwards. I found Generall Leven diſſatiſfied with my Lord Sinclars election of me, pretending his conſent ſould have

been ſought; bot if it had, I am ſure it had never been got, for that Excellence of his was conſtantlie my very heavie friend. We came to the weſt countrie in 1642, and lay at Irwine, Aire, and Kilmarnock more than a fortnight, waiteing for a faire wind; which makeing a ſhow to offer itſelfe, Monro embarked at the Largs, Home (who had got Cochrans regiment) at Aire, and we at Irwine. When we were at ſea the wind turnd contrarie, and ſo all of us met at Lamlaſh, a ſecure bay on the coaſt of the Ile of Arran, where we lay a fortnight, if I remember right; and then the wind againe offering to be favorable, one of the kings ſhips which was with us ſhooting a warning peece, all weighd anchor, hoyſd ſaile in ane evening, and nixt day were in Craigfergus loch, and landed that night. The Engliſh forces that were there, under the Lords Conway and Chiceſter, marchd to Bellfaſt, leaving Craigfergus free for us. Theſe tuo regiments, with thoſe of the tuo Vicounts of Clandeboy and Aird, and the tuo Colonell Steuarts further north, with ſome few others which afterwards were called, for diſtinction, the Britiſh forces, had preſervd all that tract of Ulſter which is neereſt the ſea from deſtruction; for the wild Iriſh did not onlie maſſacre all whom they could overmaſter, but burnt tounes, villages, caſtles, churches, and all habitable houſes, endeavouring to reduce, as farre as their power could reach, all to a confuſed chaos.

After we had refreſhed a little, Major Generall Monro left ſeven or eight hundreth men in Craigfergus, and went to the field with the reſt, among whom was my lieutenant colonell and I; my Lord Conway went along alſo with neere two thouſand Engliſh. In the woods of Kilwarning we rencountered ſome hundreths of the rebells, who after a ſhort diſpute fled. Theſe who were taken got bot bad quarter, being

all ſhot dead. This was too much uſed by both Engliſh and Scots all along in that warre; a thing inhumane and diſavouable, for the cruel-tie of one enemie cannot excuſe the inhumanitie of ane other. And heerin alſo their revenge overmaſterd their diſcretion, which ſould have taught them to ſave the lives of theſe they tooke, that the rebells might doe the like to their prisoners. Then we marchd ſtraight to the Neurie, where the Iriſh had eaſilie ſeizd on his Majeſties caſtle, wher-in they found abundance of amunition, which gave them confidence to proclaime their rebellion. The fortification of the toune being bot be-gunne, it came immediatelie in our hands; bot the rebells that were in the caſtle keepd it tuo days, and then deliverd it up upon a very ill made accord, or a very ill keepd one; for the nixt day moſt of them, with many merchands and tradeſmen of the toune, who had not beene in the caſtle, were carried to the bridge and butcherd to death, ſome by ſhooting, ſome by hanging, and ſome by drowning, without any legall proceſſe; and I was verilie informed afterwards, that ſeverall in-nocent people ſufferd. Monro did not at all excuſe himſelfe from have-ing acceſſion to that carnage, nor coulde he purge himſelfe of it; thogh my Lord Conway, as Marſhall of Ireland, was the principall actor. Our ſojors (who ſometimes are cruell, for no other reaſon bot becauſe mans wicked nature leads him to be ſo, as I have ſhoune in my Dis-courſe of Crueltie) ſeeing ſuch prankes playd by authoritie at the bridge, thought they might doe as much any where els; and ſo runne upon a hundreth and fiftie women or thereby, who had got together in a place below the bridge, whom they reſolvd to maſſacre by killing and droun-ing; which villanie the ſea ſeemd to favour, it being then flood. Juſt at that time was I ſpeaking with Monro, bot ſeeing a fare off what a

game theſe godles rogues intended to play, I got a horſeback and gallopd to them with my piſtoll in my hand; bot before I got at them they had diſpatchd about a dozen; the reſt I ſavd.

This execution had not the ſucceſſe which Conway and Monro had promiſd themſelves; for inſtead of terrifieing the rebells from their wonted cruelties, it inraged them, and occaſioned the murthering of ſome hundreths of priſoners whom they had in their pouer. Sir Phelomey Oneale, the ringleader of the rebellion, hearing of the loſſe of the Neurie, in a beaſtlie furie burnt the toune of Armagh, where he then was, and as much of the Cathedrall as fire could prevaile over, and then retird himſelfe to the woods and bogs. This gentleman was not the plotter of this rebellion; that was done by men of ſoberer heads and deeper judgments; but he was the grand inſtrument, and appeared firſt in armes, moſt treacherouſlie pretending his Majeſties commiſſion for what he did, (wherof the rebells in England and Scotland made good uſe.) He had counterfeited a warrand under the kings hand, and to the falſe parchment annexed his Majeſties great ſeale, which was hanging at his great charter, as he confeſſed afterwards to many perſones of qualitie yet alive, and left it on record at his death; to which he was deſervedlie put, by hanging and drawing and quartering, at Dubline, by rebells as wicked as himſelfe, bot upon ane other account; for it was Cromwells partie that executed him.

My Lord Conway and Monro plunderd the Neurie, except a very few houſes; moſt of the men that were left alive, Conway forcd to carry armes under his oune regiment. This being done, Monro orders the toune and caſtle to be guarriſoned by my Lord Sinclars regiment, wherof onlie two hundreth were there with the lieutenant colonell

and myſelfe. We complaind, as we had good reaſon, to be left in a place which our oune people had made deſtitute of all things, bot in vaine. My lieutenant colonell ſtayd at the Neurie, haveing got two hundreth commanded men added to his oune, till I ſould bring up from Craigfergus as many of the regiment as were comd from Scotland. Accordingly I went thither with the armie; we tooke our march thorough the woodes and mountaines of Morne, where ſeverall rebells were killd, and many cows taken. I do remember that there we ſufferd one of the moſt ſtormie and tempeſtuous nights for haile, raine, cold, and exceſſive wind, (thogh it was in the beginning of May) that ever I yet ſaw. All the tents were in a trice bloune over. It was not poſſible for any matche to keepe fire, or any ſojor to handle his muſket, or yet to ſtand; yea ſeveralls of them dyed that night of meere cold. So that if the rebells, wherof there were 500 not farre from us, had offerd to beate up our quarters with ſuch weapons as they had, which were halfe pikes, ſuords and daggers, which they call ſkeens, they wold undoubtedlie have had a cheap market of us. Our ſojors, and ſome of our officers too, (who ſuppoſe that no thing that is more then ordinarie can be the product of nature,) attributed this hurrikan to the deviliſh ſkill of ſome Iriſh witches; and if that was true, then I am ſure their maſter gave us good proofe that he was reallie prince of the aire.

I found about 500 of my Lord Sinclars regiment latelie arrivd at Craigfergus; theſe I ſhipd, and haveing obtained ſome wheate from the Major Generall, bot verie ſparinglie, and ſome leade, wherof we had none at the Neurie, I went aboord; and the wind being faire, nixt morning I caſt anchor at Carlingford, where I found that man of warre who

had convoyd us out of Scotland. In the afternoone, I marchd in to the Neurie; pitifull quarters we had, and when the reſt of the regiment came over, which that ſummer they did, we found we had not houſes for the halfe of them; for we were neceſſitated to take down a great many houſes, to make the circumference of our walls the leſſe. Our own preſervation taught us to worke allmoſt day and night, till we had finiſhd the irregular fortification begunne by the rebells. This great fatigue and toile, a very ſpare dyet, lying on the ground, litle ſleepe, conſtant watching, Sir Phelemy being for moſt part allways within a days march of us, all theſe, I ſay, added to the change of the aire, made moſt or rather indeed all our officers and ſojors fall ſeike of Iriſh agues, flixes, and other diſeaſes, of which very many dyed. Theſe who recoverd, being inured to hardſhip and well traind, became excellent ſojors and good firemen.

Monro made two more cavalcads that ſummer, in one wherof my lieutenant colonell was with him with 300 men; in the ſecond, myſelfe with the like number. In neither of them did he any memorable action, the rebells not dareing to face him, which made him conceave, becauſe they did not then, that thereafter they neither could nor would. This opinion put him in danger nixt yeare, and four years after occaſioned his totall overthrow at Blackwater. In one of theſe cavalcads, he layd ſiege to Charlemont, a ſtrong caſtle, bot broke up a litle too ſoone, even when there was hopes of a ſurrender.

About Lambes in this yeare, 1642, came Generall Leven over to Ireland, and with him the Earle of Eglinton, who had one of theſe ten regiments, my Lord Sinclare, and Hamilton generall of the artillerie, better known by the name of *Deare Sandie*. Great matters were ex-

pected from ſo famous a captain as Leven was, but he did not anſuere expectation. One cavalcad he made, in which I joynd with him with 300 men, in which I could not ſee what he intended, or what he propoſd to himſelfe. Sure I am he returnd to Craigfergus without doeing any thing. And the ſame game he playd over againe at his ſecond march, except that he viſited the Neurie; for which we were but litle obligd to him, being forcd thereby to part with our hay, wine, beere, and breade, of which we were not very well ſtord. In this yeare beganne that fatall warre betweene the King and his rebellious Parliament, by which, among other bad effects, we fingered no pay the whole time I ſtayd in Ireland, except for three months.

The officers of this our Scots armie in Ireland finding themſelves ill payd, and which was worſe, not knowing in the time of the civill warre who ſould be their paymaſters, and reflecting on the ſucceſſfull iſſue of the Nationall Covenant of Scotland, bethought themſelves of makeing one alſo; bot they were wiſe enough to give it ane other name, and therefore chriſtened it a Mutual Aſſurance; wherby upon the matter they made themſelves independent of any except theſe who wold be their actuall and reall paymaſters, with whom, for any thing I know, they met not the whole time of the warre. The Generall was very diſſatiſfied with this bond of union, as he had reaſon; and at firſt ſpoke hie language of ſtrikeing heads of; bot the officers ſticking cloſe one to another, made theſe threates evaniſh in ſmoake. And indeed it is like, ane active generall (who could have added policie to courage, and divided them,) might have made their union appear in its oune collors, which were even theſe of blacke mutinie. Bot the Earle of Leven, not being able to overmaſter it, got himſelfe ane errand to go to Scotland,

and ſo gave an everlaſting adieu to Ireland. The moſt remarkeable thing he did in the time of his ſtay was, that he tooke 2500lb. ſterline to himſelfe, which the Parliament of England had ſent to the officers of his armie for wagon money. And trulie this Earle, who lived till he paſt fourſcore, was of ſo good a memorie, that he was never knowne to forget himſelfe, nay not in his extreame age. I can not ſay more of his deportments in Ireland then what my Lord Viſcount Moore (who was killd nixt yeare) ſaid to tuo of my friends, and it was this; That the Earle of Levens actions made not ſuch a noyſe in the world as theſe of Generall Leſley.

My Lord Sinclare ſtayd with his regiment in great ſcarſitie at the Neurie, till the nixt yeare 1643, and then fell dangerouſlie ſicke; being recoverd, he returnd to Scotland. In the time of his ſtay, we fingerd bot litle moneys, and meale ſo ſparinglie as ſeldome we could allow our ſojors above a pound a day; for this reaſon, whenever we had intelligence where the rebells were with their cows, either my Lieutenant Colonell or I ſought them out, with a partie of three or four hundreth foot and ſome horſe, in moſt of which litle expeditions we were ſucceſsful, bringing in ſtore of cows, with the fleſh and milke wherof we much refreſhed the decayed bodies and fainting spirits of not onlie our ſojors, bot of many of our officers alſo. Some loſſe of men ſometimes we ſufferd, bot ſeldome; many priſoners we tooke, on whom, if we did not ſet them at libertie, we beſtowed ſome maintenance, bot made them worke at our fortifications. Not one officer or ſojor eſcaped ſickenes, except the Lieutenant Colonell. About Januare 1643, I fell grievouſlie ſicke of ane Iriſh ague, which brought me to deaths doore, bot it pleaſd God I recoverd.

In May, if I remember right, of the yeare 1643, Monro tooke the field with 1800 foot and tuo or three troops of horſe. When he came to Kirriotter, ſeven miles from the Neurie, he wrote to my Lord Sinclare to ſend him 300 muſketeers, and either his brother or me with them. Bot before this time, Owen Oneale, (who had beene Governor of Arras for the King of Spaine, and defended it gallantlie till he got honorable articles,) was comd to Ireland, and declared generall for Ulſter, as Preſton, (who had keepd out Gennep houſe againſt the Prince of Orange) was for Munſter. Oneale haveing brought ſome armes amunition and officers from the Spaniſh Netherlands, had in a ſhort time reduced many of the natives to a more civill deportment, and to a prettie good underſtanding of militarie diſcipline, and at that time was not farre off with a conſiderable part of ane armie. That night Monros meſſage came to the Neurie, by my Lord Sinclars appointment I rode to him. I found him a bed, and ſhew him in what good poſture Oneale was, which, as he confeſſd, he knew not before; bot it was not in my power to diſſuade him from the opinion he had, that the Iriſh durſt not ſtand and looke to him. After ane houres diſcourſe with him, and the drinking halfe a dozen cups of ſacke, I left him and returnd to the Neurie; and immediatly marchd to Armagh, where the Major Generall had appointed me to meet him, which was ſixteene miles. I had cauſd everie one of my ſojors carry tuelve ſhot a peece, and had beſides on horſbacke a centner of pouder, with ball and match; for I had learnd of the Major Generall, that none of his men were provided with more then tuo or three ſhot; a great fault in a generall, or in any man, to have an overweening opinion of himſelfe, and to undervalue his enemie. He gave me the vaun, in regard I had gone farre. We marchd from

Armagh foure miles further into the baronie of Loughgall, a very cloſe countrey full of hedges and ditches. I had told the Major Generall, that undoubtedlie we wold find Oneale before us, and therfor deſird that no horſe ſould be permitted to goe before me, in regard they could doe no ſervice in that countrey, bot be ane hinderance to the foot. Yet Major Ballantine wold needs march before me; bot at a place called Anachſhamrie, which was Generall Oneals oune houſe, he was ſhamefullie chacd backe upon me, tuo of his horſmen being killd, three hurt, and the reſt exceedinglie terrified. The roade way being none of the broadeſt, and ditches on everie ſide, I was more troubled with theſe horſmen then I was with the Iriſh; bot haveing made way for them as well as I could, I advancd towards the enemie, whom I could not ſee, he haveing ſhelterd himſelfe with 1500 fixd muſketeers in encloſurs ditches and hedges; yet he made me quicklie know where he was, by a ſalve of 4 or 500 ſhot he made at me, at which ſome of my men fell. I then made a ſtand, and lyned the hedges on all ſides of me, conſtantlie fireing from them, and advanceing ſtill on the hie way, thogh verie leiſurlie. The bodie of Monros foot were a great deale farther behind me then either I thought, or Oneale fancyed, otherwiſe. I ſuppoſe he wolde have left his poſt, as advantageous as it was, and advanced on me, being five to one againſt me. The diſpute continued very hote about ane houre, and then Major Borthwick, ſince a colonell, and Captaine Drummond, ſince a lieutenant generall, came up with a great pace to my releefe, and endeavord to cut thorough the hedges, that they might march thorough the encloſurs. Oneale perceaveing his men beganne to looke over their ſhoulders, reſolvd rather to retire then flie; and ſo he did to Charlemont. Thither did alſo runne the moſt part of the countrey people, with neere

3000 cowes, all which we had got if we had purſued our victorie. Owens houſe was immediatlie plunderd and burnt, and ſo were many other fine houſes in that right pleaſant countrey.

In this ſkufle, I loſt thretteene ſojors and a ſergant, all killd on the place, and about eighteene I had wounded; neither my ſelfe or any other officer being hurt. The Iriſh confeſd to have loſd about threeſcore. Monro committed heere tuo faults; firſt, for undervaluing his enemie; nixt, for not purſueing him, after he had made him turne his backe; for the diſappointment he met with did so quaile him, that he immediatlie marchd back to Armagh, full foure miles: A third he added, in ſending, in the very time of the fight, a partie to the right hand to looke for cowes. There being ſome diſorder or indeed confuſion among the hedges, when Oneale retird and Monro marchd backe, many followd that partie that did not belong to it; yea, ſo many, among whom were ſome of my 300, that when we came to encampe in encloſurs at Armagh late at night, our bodie, which at beſt was but litle, lookd exceeding weake and wearie too, and it was well the Iriſh knew it not. Adjutant Generall Leſley ſomwhat unadviſedlie ordaind me to be commander of the guards that night, never conſidering in what condition I was. After I had gone the great round, I found myſelfe ſo wearie after eight and threttie miles rideing and marching, beſides the toyle of the ſkirmiſh, haveing ſleepd none in 48 houres before, that I was forcd to tumble myſelfe doune in my tent, recommending the guards to the Adjutant Generalls care; which when the Major Generall did heare, he taxd the Adjutant of indiſcretion, and undertooke the overſight of the guards himſelfe. Nixt day our ſcattering parties comeing in to us, we marchd to Tandergie, where Sir James Lockheart, purſueing ſome of the rebells in a

wood, was mortallie ſhot in the bellie, wherof he dyed nixt morning. We buried him in the Neurie, in as honorable a way as we could. After Monro had given my lord Sinclare a viſite, he returnd to Craikfergus, and left us at the Neurie.

Some other marches he made that ſummer, in one wherof we encamped regularlie at Armagh, and fortified ourſelvs; and from thence ſent men to beſeege Charlemont once more, bot all to no purpoſe. At this leager, the Marques, now Duke of Ormond, ſignified by a trumpet to us the ceſſation he had, by his Majeſties appointment, concluded with the Iriſh for a yeare, and required Monro, in the kings name, to obſerve it. Bot he refuſd to accept of it, becauſe he had no order for it from his maſters of Scotland. Heere was ſtrange worke; a man not able to proſecute a warre, yet will not admit of a ceſſation. It coſt us deare; for ſince the king's reſtoration, all our arrears were payd us, by telling us we were not in the kings pay, ſince we refuſed to obey his commands; and very juſtlie we were ſo ſerved.

Touards the latter end of this yeare 1643, our guarriſon at the Neurie fell in extreame want of all manner of proviſions, both for backe and bellie. For this reaſon, by Monros toleration, I had a meeting with ane Iriſh colonell, one Thurlo Oneale, ſent by Sir Phelomey. We met at Kirriotter, each of us tuentie horſe, and after ane hours diſcourſe, and the drinking ſome healths in Scotch aquavitie and Iriſh uſkkiba, we concluded a ceſſation of armes with them for our oune guarriſon. Bot this did not ſupply our wants; for no monie came to the armie, either from England or Scotland, and very little meale came from Craigfergus to us. Wherfor my lieutenant colonell and I reſolved that I ſould goe ſpeedilie to Scotland, and procure ane order to the regiment to march

to the Airds and Clandeboy, there or ſomewhere elſe to quarter as the reſt of the armie did; and that immediatlie after I was gone, and that a ſhip with ſome meale which we hourlie expected was arrivd, he ſould ſhip in his amunition, baggage and ſicke men, and then march ſtraight to the Clandeboy. The Neurie was to be deliverd to the Engliſh; for I had gone to Dundalg, and agreed ſo with my Lord Moore. This was preſentlie put in execution; for I went to Craigfergus, and tooke my leave of the Major Generall, telling him dounright what my errand was to Scotland; bot conceald from him the reſolution, that the regiment ſould be with him before my returne.

At my comeing to Scotland, in the beginning of the yeare 1644, I found the generall had marchd in the dead of winter into England, with ane armie of neere 20,000 foot and 2000 horſe, to joyne by vertue of the ſolemne League and Covenant with the rebellious parliament of England, againſt our oune ſoveraigne laufull and native lord and king. I followd him on poſt horſes, and found him hide bound at Neucaſtle; for he was ſtopd there by the toune and river, so that he could not get farther ſouth. I repreſented to him not onlie the condition of my Lord Sinclars regiment, bot of the whole Scots armie in Ireland ſo feelinglie, that he found himſelf obliged to relate it to the Committee of Eſtates, (wherof the Marquis of Argile was preſident, by appointment of the uſurped parliament of Scotland.) I am calld before them, and to them I repreſented ſo paſſionatlie the miſeries of that armie, that they paſd ane act for the tranſportation of it to Scotland, provided the Committee of Eſtates at Edinburgh gave their joint conſent. I got likewiſe ane order to approve our delivering the Neurie to the Engliſh. My Lord Sinclare is appointed to goe to Ireland with that order of tranſporta-

tion, and to ſee it put in execution; I having aſſurd the committee, that all the Scots armie wold be willing to leave Ireland, except perhaps the Major Generall, and a few others whoſe diſſent, I ſaid, wold not prove materiall.

Whill I was heere, I lookd upon the poſture this armie of Scots (of which the parliament ſo much boaſted) were in. I found the bodies of the men luſtie, well clothd and well monneyd, bot raw, untraind and undiſciplind; their officers for moſt part young and unexperiencd. They had divided themſelvs in ſeverall bodies, and in ſeverall quarters, everie one or any one of which might with a reſolute ſally been eaſilie beate up, and then, in my opinion, the reſt would have runne. There was ſixe thouſand men of Neucaſtles armie within the toune, and Lieut. Generall King, then Lord Eithen, with them. I admird then, nor could I wonder enough ſince, that he never endeavourd to give his countreymen a viſite. He was a perſon of great honor; bot what he had ſavd of it at Vlotho in Germanie, where he made ſhipwracke of much of it, he loſd in England. The Scots maine care was, how to get over Tine, never careing to poſſeſſe themſelves of a paſſe on that river for their retreate, ſo much did they truſt to their oune valour and ſucceſſe. Whill I was there, they indeavord one night to bring boats from the glaſſe houſes, or above them, to the river, and ſo to make a bridge. Bot fearing the Kings forces ſould fall out upon them that were at worke, Argile and his committee ſent over Colonell Steuart, with 1200 foot, to ſtand betweene the workmen and the toune. They had bot a litle narrow bridge to paſſe in their goeing and comeing, and if 2000 had fallen ſtoutlie out of the toune on them, they had killd and tane them everie man, for retire they could not. Argile heareing this was my opi-

nion, which was ſeconded by others, aſkd Deare Sandie, Sir James Lumſdaine and myſelfe, what was beſt to be done. We were unanimous that falſe alarums ſould be given about the whole toune, to divert the enemie from ſallieing too ſtrong upon Steuart, for the tounes utter guards of horſe had certified them within of his approach. I was ſent with this meſſage to the Generall, whom I found goeing to ſupper. When I returnd, I was aſhamd to relate the anſuere of that old Captaine; which was, that he feard the brightnes of the night (for it was mooneſhine) wold diſcover the burning matches to thoſe on the walls. I told him, the mooneſhine was a prejudice to the deſigne, for it wold hinder the matches to be ſene; for the more lunts were ſeene, the better for a falſe alarme. However, the alarums were made in ſeverall places, which were taken ſo hotlie where I was beſide the workmen, that thogh I calld often to them, it was our oune people, yet ſome great perſons, whom I will not name, calld eagerlie for their horſes, and when they were on them rode away. The work was left undone, becauſe it was neep tide, and Steuart returnd ſafelie, to the great diſgrace of theſe within. The Scots got over the river afterward, and by peecmale made Neucaſtles armie almoſt as ſtrong as their oune, and farre better ſojors, moulder away, and the relicks of it take ſanctuarie within the walls of Yorke. Such was the Kings ſad fate, and the infatuated ſtupiditie of theſe under him. I have often made myſelfe merrie with that nights worke, firſt to conſider how the Committee of Eſtates, eſpeciallie their preſident Argile, who was a good ſeaman, did not advert it was neep tide, before they attempted the removeall of the boats: ſecondlie, how they adventurd to face a toune wherein there was fixe thouſand horſe and foot, with 1200 men, and no way for them to re-

treate: thirdlie, of Generall Levens impertinent anſuer to my meſſage; fourthlie, to ſee men affrayd at their oune ſhadow, men runne away for ane allarme themſelves had cauſd make; and for a farce to the play, to heare my old Colonell Steuart, when he was returnd to his quarters, vapour and bragge of the orderlie retreate he had made without the loſſe of a man, when there was not ſo much as a foot boy purſueing him.

My Lord Sinclare and I went poſt to Scotland, where we found my Lord Chancellour and the Committee of Eſtates there very averse from that tranſportation, fearing the bad conſequences of it. Whill things are a debateing, my Lord Sinclars regiment lands at Portpatrik. The Laird of Lauiers regiment follows, and after him the Earle of Lothians; ſo wold all the reſt, bot they wanted ſhipping. The occaſion was this. After I had left Ireland, my Lieutenant-Colonell haveing reſſavd ſome ſupply of meale, ſhipd in tuo field peeces, his amunition, his baggage, ſicke men, and all the meale except ſo much as the ſojors carried on their backes, and marchd by land to the Airds, haveing deliverd the Neurie with the caſtle to theſe were appointed to reſſave it by the Marques of Ormond, lieutenant of Ireland, as we had formerlie agreed to doe. Upon this the field officers of the whole Scots armie met at Craigfergus, and ſeeing no appearance of my returne, unanimouslie concluded to goe all over to Scotland; and becauſe they had not veſſells enough for all, ſent theſe three regiments firſt away. This alarumd the Committee at Edenburgh exceedinglie. They diſpatch my Lord Sinclar weſt to ſee the regiments well quarterd, no hurt to be done to the countrey, bot moſt of all, that the Covenant reſſavd no prejudice. I went poſt with my Lord to Aire, where we found our regiment.

The Committee haveing well conſiderd the danger might enſue, if the

other ſeven regiments came to Scotland, ſend Sir Frederick Hammilton and the Laird of Lauiers over to Ireland, with ten thouſand pounds ſterline, and ſeven thouſand ſutes of clothes for the ſojors, and ſome private inſtructions, to conjure them to remaine in their old duellings; to which the officers conſented, notwithſtanding the oath of their Mutuall Aſſureance, which was then broke and cancelld with as much formalitie, bot with a great deal of more reaſon, then it was made.

Thus was I at toyle and trouble enough for the ſpace of tuo yeares in Ireland, haveing got no more in the employment then what maintaind me. Yet I had a purchaſe in it of that I value more then any worldlie riches, that was of my deare wife, Mary White, with whom I was firſt acquainted and then enamourd at the Neurie. She was comd of very good parents; her father being the ſecond ſonne of a knight, and her mother of ane other good familie of the Whites. She was thought by others, much more by me, to be of a good beautie. For the qualities of her mind, I have had ſuch experience of them as they have renderd me happie amidſt all the afflictions hath befallen me ſince. I did not then marry her, becauſe at that time ſhe was tenacious of the Roman Catholick perſuaſion, which was verie hatefull to our leading men of Scotland; neither indeed, in the condition wherein I was then, could I maintaine her in any good faſhion.

The Marques of Huntley makeing ſome buſtling in the north, thogh to litle purpoſe, the Committee orders my Lord Sinclars regiment to march to Stirline, and Lothians to St Jonſton; that of Lauiers lay in countrey villages. I had then lookd a litle more narroulie in the juſtice of the cauſe wherin I ſervd then formerly I uſed to doe, and found I had done well enough in my engadgement againſt the bloodie

rebells in Ireland. Bot the new Solemne League and Covenant (to which the Committee of Eſtates requird an abſolute ſubmiſſion) ſummond all my thoughts to a ſerious conſultation; the reſult wherof was, that it was nothing bot a treacherous and diſloyall combination againſt laufull authoritie. Some captaines of my Lord Lothians (who were well enough principld, and had got good information of the deſignes of the prime covenanters from the late Lord Chancellor, E. of Glencairne,) and I communicated our thoughts one to another, and then I broke the matter firſt to my Lieutenant Colonell, and then to my Lord Sinclare. All of us thought it our duetie to doe the King all the ſervice we could againſt his ungracious ſubjects; and therefore reſolvd not to take the Covenant, bot to joyne with the Marques of Montroſſe, who had the Kings commiſſion. In the meane tyme, we made faire weather with the Committee of Eſtates, till we got one thouſand pound, and tuo hundreth ſterline money for each regiment, and a ſute of cloths for everie ſojor. The Committee preſſd much the ſigning of the covenant, with many letters, meſſages, and meſſengers. We wavd it with many pecious pretences; eſpeciallie we defird ſixe weeks time to advice with our conſciences, a thing they had granted to all other ſubjectes; hopeing before the end of that time to be in a capacitie to ſpeake plainer language.

Meane while my Lieutenant Colonell and I had our ſeverall conſultations with my Lord Erſkine, my Lord Napier, the Maſter of Napier, the Maſter of Mederdie, and Laird of Keir, all of them very loyall perſons, with whom we concluded it was fit to ſend tuo, one from them and another from us, to Montroſſe, who was then in the border, to invite him to come to Stirline, where he ſould find caſtle, toune and regiment at his devotion, and St Jonſton likewiſe. And leaſt he might

thinke we meant not honneſtlie, in regard there had been no good underſtanding betueene him and my Lord Sinclare formerlie, his neece the Ladie Keir ſent him a well knowne token with Harie Steuart, who was the man we ſent, and this he reſſaved. The meſſenger they ſent was young Balloch Drummond, then very loyall, whatever he was afterward. I beleeve he got not to him. Bot Montroſſe haveing a litle too ſoone enterd Scotland, and met with a rufle neere Drumfreis, and upon it retird to England, it ſeems he thought it not ſafe with ſo inconſiderable troops to hazard ſo farre as to Sterline, perhaps not giveing full truſt to our promiſes; and moſt, becauſe the Committee had appointed a ſecond levie, which then was farre advanced, under the command of the E. of Callander, who with the deepeſt oathes, even wiſhing the ſupper of our Lord to turne to his damnation, which he was to take nixt Sunday, if ever he ſould engadge under theſe or with theſe Covenanters, had perſuaded me in his oune houſe of Callander, and upon a Lords day too, that he would faithfullie ſerve the King;—I ſay, by Montroſſe his neglect, and Calanders perfidie, was loſt the faireſt occaſion that could be wiſhd to doe the King ſervice. For if that levie had beene ſuppreſſd, as very ſoone it ſould, and Montroſſe have comd to Stirline, and joynd with our tuo regiments, as eaſilie he might, he wold with the aſſiſtance of Huntley in the north, and theſe Iriſh who ſoone after came over from Antrum, have reducd Scotland without bloodſhed to their duetie and obedience, or els the Scots armie had beene forcd to have left England, and marchd home to oppoſe us; upon whoſe retreate, it was more than probable moſt of England wold have embracd the Kings intereſt; the reputation of the Scots armie at that time keeping up the Engliſh parliaments intereſt. Bot the inauſpitieous fate

and diſaſtrous deſtinie of the incomparablie good King wold not have it to be ſo.

A litle before this, Sir George Monro, Colonell Hammilton, and ſome other officers of the armie in Ireland, had comd over to deale with the Committee of Eſtates for their oune maintenance, and E. Calander requireing an adjutant generall for his new forces from the Committee, they ſought the opinion of these officers, who they thought ſufficient for that employment. They were all pleaſd to name me to be the man fitting for it; upon which ane act of Committee was made, without acquainting me with it; that I ſould have that charge, and continue likewiſe major as I was. This offer being made to me when I expected Montroſſe, and was with good reaſon diſſatiſfied with Calander, I refuſd it, pretending I could not undergoe both charges. It was given to Major Douglas, a ſonne of the Sheriffe of Teviotdaill, who was afterwards a colonell, and killed at Worceſter fight. Notwithſtanding of all this, Calander did not give over to give me all imaginable aſſureances that he wold act for the King, and that the greater pouer he was inveſted with, the more vigorouſlie and vigilantlie wold he ſhow himſelfe active and loyall for his Majeſtie. This put me in ſome hopes I might be inſtrumentall under him to doe the King ſome ſervice. Withall, I knew I was vehementlie ſuſpected by the Committee of Eſtates, and if I had denuded myſelfe of all imployment, which was my greateſt ſecuritie, I had runne the hazard of impriſonment, if not worſe; for now they had declard the ſupreame pouer to be in themſelves, and therfore all was acted againſt them muſt be no better then treaſon. Upon theſe grounds my Lord Sinclars regiment marchd into England, and I with them, and made a faſhion (for indeed it was

no better) to take the Covenant, that under pretence of the Covenant we might ruine the Covenanters; a thing, (thogh too much practiſd in a corrupt world) yet in itſelfe diſhoneſt, ſinfull and diſavoueable; for it is certaine that no evill ſould be done that good may come of it; neither did any good at all come of this, for Calander all along provd true to his own intereſt and gaine, and falſe to the Kings, never laying hold on any opportunitie whereby he might, with ſmall difficultie, have done his Majeſtie ſignall ſervice. After he enterd England, I wold have undertaken to have made moſt of his new levied forces, which were about 5000, declare for the King, and forcd theſe who wold not to fly from the armie. Upon this Northumberland and Biſhopricke (whoſe gentrie was ſtill loyall,) wold have riſen with us; and thogh ſhortlie after that Prince Rupert was beaten at Longmeston mure, yet he haveing brought away neere 4000 horſe with him, we wold have beene able to have made him up a gallant armie. Bot *non voluere fata.*

Having croſſd Tyne at Neuburne, Calander inveſts Neucaſtle on the other ſide of the river; haveing firſt got aſſureance that the Prince was defeated at Long Meſton by Generalls Leven, Mancheſter and old Fairfaxe, all which three had ſhamefullie left the field and fled; but Leven fled furtheſt, for he did not draw bridle till he was at Wedderbie, four and twentie miles from the place of battell. There was reaſon he ſould take the ſtart of the other tuo, becauſe he had furtheſt home. Calander lys doune before Hertipoole, a very tenable litle ſea toune, wherin was a garriſon of 300 men for the King, and had it unworthilie yeelded to him without ſtroake of ſuord by Sir Edmund Carew; and Stokton Caſtle likewiſe, before which not one man of ours had appeared, for which he was afterward queſtiond.

A litle before harveſt in this yeare 1644, Leven came with all his armie and beſeegd Neucaſtle on Northumberland ſide; which was well enough defended eight or nine weeks by Sir Johne Morley, mayor of the toune; bot at length he haveing fooliſhlie refuſed articles, which he might have made at his pleaſure, the toune was taken by ſtorme, with no great loſſe on our ſide, and with very litle bloodſhed of the royaliſts. My Lord Sinclars regiment were the firſt that enterd the toune, the firſt partie of them of tuo hundreth being led by my ſelfe, being very well ſeconded by my Lieutenant Colonell. One of my Captains, Sinclare, fooliſhlie running contrar to my command ſtraight to the market place, was ther killd. It was well for theſe of that ſide within the toune that we enterd ſo ſoone, for we gave very good quarter, my Lieutenant Colonell and I cleering the wall all along till the nixt port; there we tooke tuentie gentlemen on horſeback, and 200 foot ſojors, and ſo made eaſie way for my Lord Leviſtons, now E. of Lithgows brigade, and Lieutenant Generall Baillies to enter, being before pitifullie beate of; neither did we kill one man within the walls. In the approches our regiment loſt very prettie men, bot in the ſtorme onlie three. Immediatlie after the plunder of this toune, (wherof I had not one pennie worth) the armie is put in winter quarters. Whill we beſeege Neucaſtle, Calander is ſent with ſome regiments to Scotland to oppoſe Montroſſe, who, with a handfull of Iriſh very ill armed, had beaten the Lord Elcho and his armie at Tippermure. Calander ſtayd not long, neither had the leaders of the Covenanters better lucke than Elcho, for beaten they were by Montroſſe at Aberdeene, and the third time at Innerlochie, where Argile ſavd himſelfe ſoone enough.

Nixt ſummer of the yeare 1645, Montroſe did theſe feats which hath

renderd his name immortall. Againſt him were ſeverall regiments ſent the ſecond time from the armie in England. With the reſt Leven marcheth ſouthward; and at Nottinghame, ſome well meaning officers of the armie made a motion to preſent a petition to the King, according to the laudable cuſtome of both the firſt and the ſecond Covenanters, before we enterd in any act of hoſtilitie againſt him. This had given a ſtop to the advance of our armie, which the Engliſh royaliſts ſo much feared. I was deſird to draw the petition, which after ſome refuſeall, (apprehending Calanders jugling,) I at length did. Bot he not onlie refuſd to ſigne it himſelfe, but to let the Committee ſee it, (without whom it could not be ſent to the King) thogh never ſo many officers wold ſubſcrive it. And ſo theſe honneſt officers were deceavd and abuſd, as I had fortold them. On our march to Gloceſterſhire, we had the ſad news of the Kings overthrow at Naſebie, after which never any of his forces made a ſtand. Whill the Scots army inveſts Hereford, news comes that Montroſſe had gaind the battell of Killſyth, ſo entirelie that all the covenanting Lords were fled to Berwick. Lieutenant Generall Leſley upon this is ſent away to Scotland, with moſt of the cavallerie, to oppoſe ſucceſsfull Montroſe, whom he had the good fortune, as he thought it, to beate at Philiphauch; where Major Generall Middletone, now Earle, was very active againſt, thogh ſince very active for the King. After ſome weeks ſtay at the ſeege of Hereford, upon a rumour of the Kings approach with ſome forces, we broke up and marchd north, and that harveſt quarterd in Yorkſhire; and in the beginning of winter, helpd the Engliſh forces to blocke up Neuarke on Trent, from whence a litle before his Majeſtie was gone with 500 horſe to Oxford. Heere old Generall Leven left us and went to Neu-

caſtle, forcd therto by order of the Parliament of Scotland. I am very ſure, ſore againſt his will he parted with a command wherby he could have put aboundance of money in his pocket, which Lieutenant Generall David Leſley could not chooſe bot doe. We paſt that winter with very much cold, bot very litle bloodſhed; bot ſo did they not at St Andreus, where the pretended parliament dyed ſome ſcaffolds very red, with the loyall blood of many of his Majeſties faithfull ſubjects.

In the ſummer of the yeare 1646, the Kings fate driveing him on to his neere approching end, he caſt himſelf in the Scots armes at Neuarke. There did E. Lothian, as preſident of the Committee, to his eternall reproach, imperiouſlie require his Majeſtie (before he had either drunke, refreſhd, or repoſed himſelfe,) to command my Lord Bellaſis to deliver up Neuarke to the Parliaments forces, to ſigne the Covenant, to order the eſtabliſhment of preſbiterian government in England and Ireland, and to command James Grahame, (for ſo he called Great Montroſſe) to lay doune armes; all which the King ſtoutlie refuſed; telling him that he who had made him ane Earle had made James Grahame a Marques. Barbarouſlie uſed he was, ſtrong guards put upon him, and centinells at all his windows, that he ſould caſt over no letters; and at length Neuarke by his order being given up, he is carried with a very ſpeedie march to Neucaſtle, where he was well enough guarded. At Sherburne I ſpoke with him, and his Majeſtie haveing got ſome good caracter of me, bade me tell him the ſence of our armie concerning him. I did ſo, and withall aſſurd him he was a priſoner, and therefor prayd him to think of his eſcape, offering him all the ſervice I could doe him. He ſeemd to be well-

pleaſed with my freedome, and the griefe I had for his condition; bot our converſation was interrupted very uncivillie (for I was in the roome alone with his Majeſtie) by Lieutenant Generall Leſleys command, wherin he made uſe of tuo whom I will not name, becauſe the one is dead, and I hope the other hath repented; neither was I ever permitted afterward to ſpeake with him; yet he namd me, as one of five fitting to carry his commands to Montroſſe, bot the Committee made choyce of a man by Lothians perſuaſion, fitter for their purpoſe. Moſt of that winter, till neere Candlemas, was ſpent in quarters, which were allot-ed us in ſome places of Yorkſhire, Durham, and Northumberland all over; meane time goes Argile to London.

When I perceavd things in this troubleſome condition, not knouing what might be the iſſue, whether I might not be neceſſitated to fly beyond ſeas, (for the Committee and Generall entertaind very ill thoughts of me,) and not dareing to goe to Irland, leaſt they ſould thinke I went about more ſerious affaires, I ſent and deſird her who was to be my wife, to be at the trouble to come to England to me, which ſhe willinglie did. This both ſhew her affection to me, and the truſt ſhe repoſed in mine; leaveing her parents, her friends, countrey and all that was deare to her, upon my word. And indeed ſhe found me but in a bad condition, and it was well it was no worſe; for haveing drunke at one time too much at parting with a great perſon, rideing home I met one Colonell Wren, betueene whom and me there was ſome animoſitie. He was a foot, and I lighted from my horſe; drinke prevailing over my reaſon, I forced him to draw his ſuord, which was tuo great handfulls longer then mine. This I perceiving, gripd his ſuord with my left hand, and thruſt at him with my right; bot he ſtepping

backe avoyded it, and drew his ſuord away, which left ſo deepe a wound betueene my thumbe and formoſt finger, that I had almoſt loſd the uſe of both, unles I had beene well cured. Ane other hurt I got in my left arme. The paſſengers parted us; bot I could never find him out after, to be revengd on him, though I ſought him farre and neere. This was ane effect of drinking, which I confeſſe, beſide the ſinne againſt God, hath brought me in many inconveniences. This was the firſt time ever my blood was draune, though I have hazarded it and my life very often, not onlie in battells, ſkirmiſhes, rencounters, ſieges, ſallies, and other publick dueties of ſervice, bot alſo in ſeverall private duells. I was not well recoverd, when ſhe I lovd beſt came to England. Shortlie after, we were married at Hexame, in preſence of ane honourable companie, on the tenth of November, 1646. Many ſad ſtorms and blaſts of adverſitie hath ſhe patientlie ſtood out with me ſince, and both of us have reaſon to bleſſe our good God, who hath graciouſlie deliverd us out of them all.

In Februare 1647, the Committee haveing receaved 200,000lb. ſterline, for the arrears of the armie (for ſo it was calld), the King is ſhamefullie deliverd over to the Commiſſioners of the two Houſes of England, and that by a vote too of the Parliament of Scotland, to the eternall diſgrace of the whole nation. He is firſt carried to Holmbie Houſe; and after the armie had chacd the eleven Preſbiterian members of the Houſe of Commons beyond ſeas, they take his Majeſtie to Hampton Court, and after many jugling tricks of Cromwell, he is carried to Cariſbrok Caſtle in the Iſle of Wight, out of which he never came till he was led to his arraignment. The Scotch armie marcheth to Scotland and is modelled in ſeven regiments of foot, thretteene troops of horſe, and

three companies of dragooners. All the reſt are diſbanded. My Lord Sinclars regiment is orderd to goe backe to Ireland. They - - - - by the way at Peebles, and ſome runne away. Quarters are appointed for them, and E. Lothians regiment in Galloway, till I went over to Ireland, to try whether Monro and his officers (for that armie was then governd by a councell of officers, wherof the Major Generall was preſident,) wold make us welcome or not, I found the coaſt guarded with ſojors to barre our landing, which I lookd on as a bad omen. At my comeing to Craigfergus, the officers are calld together. I deliverd them a letter from the Scots Parliament, and endeavord to perſuade them to reſſave us as antient members of their bodie; telling them that we were to bring such proviſions with us, that we ſould not be burthenſome to them. Bot I harangud them in vaine, for I found, thogh they wold not ſpeake it dounright, they wold not admit us at all; for thogh they had beene well beate by Owen Oneale the yeare before, yet they fancyed they ſould then receave ten thouſand pounds ſterline for everie regiment, and they thought if our tuo regiments joynd with them, we might occaſion a diminution of the ſoume. Upon my returne, and the burthen Galloway had of us, order comes to us from the Committee of Eſtates, to diſband, which was accordinglie done. This was the end of my Lord Sinclars regiment, which indeed was compoſed of prettie men, ſtout and loyall, both officers and ſojors, to which I had beene ſerjeant major full five yeares.

Shortlie after, Lieutenant Generall Leſley having reduced the North to the obedience of the Committee of Eſtates, by takeing all Huntleys houſes, and chaceing himſelfe and his party to their hieland ſhelters, marched ſouth, being to goe into Kintire. I met him at Dumblaine,

where he, the late Marques of Argile, and Major Generall Holburne, eaſilie perſuaded me to accept of the Adjutant Generalls place of the armie, then vacant; for indeed I thought it duetie to fight againſt theſe men who firſt had diſerted their Generall Montroſſe, as E. Aboine and Sir Alaſter Macdonnald had done when he ſtood moſt in need of them, which mainlie had occaſiond his irreparable loſſe at Philipſhauch; and nixt had abſolutlie refuſd to lay down armes at the Kings oune command, carried to them by Sir James Leſley. I was neceſſitated to ſtay for ſome baggage a day or tuo, and therafter met the armie at Inverraray, Argiles chiefe houſe. From thence we marchd to Kintire, which is a peninſull. Both before and at the entrie to it, there were ſuch advantages of ground, that our foot, for mountains and marſhes, could never have draune up one hundreth in a bodie, nor our horſe above three in breaſt; which if Sir Alaſter had prepoſſeſt with theſe thouſand or 1200 brave foot which he had with him, I think he might have routed us, at leaſt we ſould not have enterd Kintire bot by a miracle. Bot he was ordaind for deſtruction; for by a ſpeadie march we made ourſelves maſters of theſe difficell paſſes, and got into a plaine countrey, where no ſooner he ſaw our horſe advance, but with little or no fighting he retird; and if the Lieutenant Generals foot had been with him to have given the enemie a ſalve or tuo, which would have diſorderd him, I beleeve none of them had eſcaped from our horſe. Alaſter, like a foole, (for no ſojor he was, though ſtout enough,) put in 300 of his beſt men in a houſe on the top of a hill, calld Dunavertie, environd with a ſtone wall, where there was not a drop of water but what fell from the clouds. Then leaveing Kintire he went to Yla, where he playd juſt ſuch ane other mad prank, leaveing his old father, commonlie

called Coll Kettoch, with neere 200 men in a caſtle, called Dunneveg, where was no water either bot what the heavens afforded. The reſt of his men he carried with him to Ireland, (ane excellent Generall Major) where he was killd in a battell fought by thoſe with whom he joynd againſt my Lord Taffe, now Earle of Carlingford. We beſeegd Dunavertie, which keepd out well enough, till we ſtormd a trench they had at the foot of the hill, wherby they commanded tuo ſtripes of water. This we did take in the aſſault. Fortie of them were put to the ſuord. We loſd five or ſixe, with Argiles Major. After this, inexorable thirſt made them deſire a parley. I was orderd to ſpeake with them; neither could the Lieutenant Generall be movd to grant any other conditions, then that they ſould yeeld on diſcretion or mercy; and it ſeemd ſtrange to me to heare the Lieutenant Generalls nice diſtinction, that they ſould yeeld themſelvs to the kingdomes mercy, and not to his. At length they did ſo; and after they were comd out of the Caſtle, they were put to the ſuord, everie mothers ſonne, except one young man, Mackoull, whoſe life I begd, to be ſent to France with a hundreth countrey fellows whom we had ſmoakd out of a cave, as they doe foxes, who were given to Captaine Cambell, the Chancellors brother.

Heere it will be fit to make a ſtop till this cruell action be canvaſd. Firſt, the Lieutenant Generall was tuo days irreſolute what to doe. The Marques of Argile was accuſd, at his arraignment, of this murther, and I was examind as a witnes. I depond, that which was true, that I never heard him advice the Lieutenant Generall to it. What he did in private I know not. Secondlie, Argile was bot a Colonell there, and ſo had no pouer to doe it of himſelfe. Thirdlie, thogh he had adviſd him to it, it was no capitall crime; for councell is no com-

mand. Fourthlie, I have ſeverall times ſpoke to the Lieutenant Generall to ſave theſe mens lives, and he allways aſſented to it; and I know of himſelfe he was unwilling to ſhed their blood. Fifthlie, Mr Johne Nave (who was appointed by the commiſſion of the kirke to waite on him as his chaplaine,) never ceaſd to tempt him to that bloodſhed; yea and threatened him with the curſes befell Saull for ſpareing the Amalekites, for with them his theologie taught him to compare the Dunavertie men. And I verilie beleeve that this prevaild moſt with David Leſley, who lookd upon Nave as the repreſentative of the Kirk of Scotland. Laſtlie, there is no doubt bot the Lieutenant Generall might legallie enough, without the leaſt tranſgreſſion of either the cuſtome, practiſe, or law of warre, or his oune commiſſion, have uſd them as he did; for he was bound by no article to them, they haveing ſubmitted themſelvs abſolutlie to his diſcretion. It is true, on the other hand, *ſummum jus, ſumma injuria;* and in ſuch caſes, mercy is the more chriſtian, the more honourable, and the more ordinarie way in oure warres in Europe. Bot I reallie beleeve, adviſe him to that act who will, he hath repented it many times ſince, and even very ſoone after the doeing it.

From Kintire we went by ſea to Yla, and immediatlie inveſted Dunneveg. I muſt remember, by the way, that we carried bot about fourſcore horſes with us after we left Kintire, the reſt of the troopes being left in Lorne, under the command of Colonell Robert Montgomerie, ſince Generall Major, who blockd up the houſe of belonging to Mackoull in Lorne, whoſe clan was, as I ſaid, extirpated very neere at Dunavertie. Dunnaveg, after a ſtout reſiſtance, for want of water, came to a parley. I am appointed to treate with one Captaine

Oneale and one Donald Gorum, who came out of the houſe on the Lieutenant Generalls word. Life was promiſd to them; all the officers to goe where they pleaſed; the ſojors to be tranſported to France, and given to Henry Sinclare my old Lieutenant Colonell. The articles I ſaw couchd in writeing and ſignd by both Argile and Leſley. This capitulation was faithfullie obſerved. A litle ſkurvie ile in the end of Yla was keepd by a baſtard ſonne of Coll Kittoch, which we left to its fortune. Bot before we were maſters of Dunneveg, the old man Coll, comeing fooliſhlie out of the houſe, where he was governour, on ſome parole or other, to ſpeake with his old friend the Captaine of Dunſtaffage Caſtle, was ſurpriſd and made priſoner, not without ſome ſtaine to the Lieutenant Generalls honor. He was afterwards hangd by a jury of Argiles ſheriff depute, one George Cambell, from whoſe ſentence few are ſaid to have eſcapd that kind of death.

From Yla we boated over to Jura, a horride ile, and a habitation fit for deere and wild beaſts; and ſo from ile to ile till we came to Mull, which is one of the beſt of the Hebrides. Heere Maclaine ſavd his lands with the loſſe of his reputation, if ever he was capable to have any. He gave up his ſtrong caſtles to Leſley, gave his eldeſt ſonne for hoſtage of his fidelitie, and, which was unchriſtian baſenes in the loweſt degree, he deliverd up fourteene very prettie Iriſhmen, who had beene all along faithfull to him, to the Lieutenant Generall, who immediatlie cauſd hang them all. It was not well done to demand them from Macklaine, bot inexcuſablie ill done of him to betray them. Heere I cannot forget one Sir Donald Cambell, a very old man, fleſhd in blood from his very infancie, who with all imaginable violence preſd that all the whole clan of Macklaine ſould be put to the edge of the ſword; nor

wold he be commanded to forbeare his bloody ſute by the Lieutenant Generall and the tuo Generall Majors, and with ſome difficultie was he commanded ſilence by his chiefe the Marques of Argile. For my part I ſaid nothing, for indeed I did not care thogh he had prevaild in his ſute, the deliverie of the Iriſh had ſo much irritated me againſt the whole name. As we were goeing to Mull, Major Generall, ſince E. Middletone, (who had with tuo regiments of foot and ſome troops of horſe ruind the relicks of Huntleys partie,) came to us. With him I had ſome conferences concerning the Kings condition, who at that time was at Hampton Court. Then firſt I found he beganne in earneſt to oune his Majeſties intereſt. Great jealouſies there were then of all parties both in England and Scotland. Argile and Leſlie thought fit to ſeparate me from Middletone, and ſo ſent me to Edinburgh to give the Eſtates ane account of our ſucceſſes, and to deſire quarters to be provided for the armie againſt our deſcent to the low countrey. Thither I went, and after Leſlie had taken in ane old caſtle in Knoggard or Moggart, I know not which, I met him on his march to Stirline, ten miles on the other ſide of that toune, bringing with me the quarters ordered for the ſeverall regiments and troopes; which being divided, every one went ſtraight to his oune.

The Committee of Eſtates, and conſequentlie the viſible ſoveraigne pouer of Scotland at that time, is divided between the Duke Hammilton and the Marques of Argile. The laſt keepd ſtronglie by the church, and had it for him; and for feare that did not his turne, he keepd the armie, at leaſt Leven and David Leſlie for him, as knowing, *omnia ſunt gladii pediſſequa.* Yet the Hammiltons had gaind much on Middleton, who had a ſtrong influencé on the armie. Hammilton, to beate Argile out of his ſtrongeſt fortreſſe, propons the diſ-

banding the armie as very uſeles now, and which was worſe, very burthenſome, all the enemies of the ſtate being rangd to their duetie. This was not onlie a plauſible pretext, bot ane unanſuerable argument; bot marke the reply of the other partie. "Never ſo great danger as now; the Kings perſon, which they were bound to defend by the oath of their Covenant (obſerve, there was no former ty on them,) being in the hands of the Independents, who were ſuorne enemies to his ſacred perſon and to preſbiterie, and carying now all things before them in the Engliſh Parliament, were become very formidable." So impudentlie could theſe hipocrites make uſe of the ſafetie of the King, to ſupport their power, by the uſurpation wherof they had brought him to that low condition, and whoſe deſtruction they ſtill deſignd. To this they adde a ridiculouſlie palpable ly, that the Marques of Huntley was ſtrong and marching ſouthward, waxd numerous, and to uſe their oune words, grew great like a ſnow ball; that poore Marques, in the meane time, hideing himſelfe in holes and caves, out of which he is about that ſame time draune, and carried to Edenburgh and caſt in the tollbooth, out of which he never came till he was brought to a ſcaffold. The matter of the armies diſbanding is referd to the meeting of a great Committee, whoſe members are ſummond by Argile and the kirk to come from the remoteſt places of the kingdome, and when they meet, they vote the armie to ſtand. By this favour they obliged many officers, to eaſe the kingdome forſooth, to quite a third part of their pay voluntarilie; for which ſimplicitie the kirk cryd them up for good patriots; and this was enough to put theſe ſimpletons in the full poſſeſſion of a fools paradiſe.

Bot before all this was done, E. Lainrick, brother to Duke Hamil-

ton is made one of theſe commiſſioners which they called the Committee of both kingdomes. The Chanclor and he went to London, and from thence, by the Parliaments permiſſion, to the Ile of Wight, where they had ſeverall conferences with his Majeſtie. Many conceſſions they obtaind from him againſt Poperie, Arminianiſme, Socinianiſme, Libertiniſme, Eraſtianiſme, and I know not what els, and many promiſes they made to him, and ſo returnd to Scotland. A Parliament is calld, which either conſiſted of the royall or purlie Hammiltonian partie; Argiles being the leaſt of the three, the election of the members was ſo dexterouſlie carried. Bot in the Commiſſion of the Kirke, Argile carryd all before him. And now the ſcene is changd. The King is in no danger; the Parliament of England, thogh independent, and Scotland are good friends; they muſt not fall out; the union of the tuo kingdomes muſt be preſerved; the King in his conceſſions had not taken away Prelacie, and therfore all the reſt of his grants were hipocriticall; neither were the Scots bound to defend his perſon by vertue of the Covenant, bot in the defence of the true religion, which, according to their gloſſe, is preſbiteriall government; and therfor no armie muſt be raiſd for his releaſment or reſtoration, onlie the Engliſh Parliament wold be deſird to ſuffer them to treate with the King, whoſe perſon, according to promiſe, ſould be keepd in honor, freedome and ſafetie. Heere yow ſee ane armie neceſſare and not neceſſare, for one and the ſame cauſe. Yow will thinke that ſtrange, bot I will unriddle yow. Neceſſare for the Kings defence, and to withſtand the power of the Independents, ſo long as old Leven and David Leſlie commanded it; not neceſſare for theſe or any other cauſes, if Duke Hamilton and Earle Calander had the conduct of it. Whether the great ſoumes of money the Engliſh Commiſſioners brought

with them, had ane influence on the leading men of the ſtate, the kirk and the armie, Sir James Stewart, once Provoſt of Edinburgh, yet alive, can well enough tell. This rent betueene the uſurped ſtate and the uſurped kirk, was the firſt ſtep to the ruine of the whole deſigne of the yeare 1648; for in the time of this furious dif . . . . . our levies were retarded, and time given to Fairfaxe and Cromwell to deſtroy all the Kings partie in England. At length the raiſing of ane armie is carried in ſpite of Argile and the kirk. Duke Hammilton is declard Generall; E. Calander, (who once more appeard to oune the Kings intereſt,) Lieutenant Generall of the armie; Middletone Lieutenant Generall of the horſe, and Baillie of the foot.

Bot before this was done, a petition is draune up by Argile and his friends, (the Chancellor playing faſt and looſe with both parties,) which is calld the petition of the armie, which was to ſecure religion (for theſe were the kirks words) and the kingdome of Chriſt, before any forces were raiſed for the Kings releaſment. It is ſignd privatlie by Leven, Da. Leſlie, Major Generall Holburne, Sir Johne Broun, Colonell Scot and ſome others, and then preſented publiklie to the reſt of us, thinking we could not, being ſojors, refuſe to follow our leaders. Bot they found themſelves miſtaken; for Major Generall Middletone, and the honneſt part of the officers of the armie told them, that ſuch a petition, which lookd ſo like mutinie, could not be preſented to the Parliament without incurring the diſhonour which Fairfaxe, his armie had draune upon itſelfe, to impoſe on the Parliament of England. To oppoſe this petition, Middletone was pleaſd to make uſe of me; neither was I, indeed, unwilling to contribute all my endeavors for the deſtruction of a paper which, if it had beene red, wold have ſpoke with

ſo loud a voyce, that many of the members, who were bot indifferent, wold have ſpoke Argiles language very plainlie. The buſienes was ſo handled that it was never preſented.

Innumerable allmoſt were the petitions that came from all places of the kingdome, againſt the raiſing of forces for his Majeſties releaſment. Glaſgow being a conſiderable toune, was moſt refractorie to this Parliament; for Mr Dick, whom they lookd upon as a patriarch, Mr Baillie, Mr Gilleſpie and Mr Durhame, all mightie members of the kirk of Scotland, had preachd them to a perfite diſobedience of all civill power, except ſuch as was authoriſd by the Generall Aſſemblie and Commiſſion of the Kirk; and ſo indeed was the whole weſt of Scotland, who cryd up King Chriſt, and the kingdome of Jeſus Chriſt, therby meaning the uncontroullable and unlimited dominion of the then kirk of Scotland, to whom they thought our Saviour had deliverd over his ſcepter, to governe his militant church as they thought fit. For this reaſon, I am ſent to Glaſgow to reduce it to obedience, with three troops of horſe, and Holburns regiment of foot, which a litle before that had mutind in the Links of Lieth; (their colonell, lieutenant colonell, and all their captains haveing deſerted them,) bot the mutinie was with ſome difficultie compeſcd by myſelfe, and that regiment brought by me the length of Cramond, in its march to Glaſgow. In Glaſgow were many honneſt and loyall men, the prime wherof wer the Cambells and the Bells; and indeed I had good helpe of Coline Cambell, James Bell and Bayliffe James Hamilton. At my comeing there I found my worke not very difficill; for I ſhortlie learnd to know, that the quartering tuo or three troopers, and halfe a dozen muſketeers, was ane argument ſtrong enough, in two or three nights time, to make

the hardeſt headed Covenanter in the toune to forſake the kirk, and ſide with the Parliament. I came on the friday, and nixt day ſent to Mr Dick, and deſird him and his brethren to ſay nothing nixt day in their pullpits that might give me juſt reaſon to diſturbe the peace of the church. In the forenoone he ſpoke us very faire, and gave us no occaſion of offence; but in the afternoone he tranſgreſd all limits of modeſtie, and raild malitieouſlie againſt both King and Parliament. This obligd me to command all my officers and ſojors to goe preſentlie out of the church, becauſe I neither could nor would ſuffer any under my command to be witneſſes of a miſdemeanor of that nature. At the firſt Dick was timorous, and promiſd if I wold ſtay, he wold give me ſatiſfaction; bot I told him I wold truſt him no more, ſince he had broke his promiſe made in the forenoone. Seeing I intended no worſe but to remove, he continued his ſermon, and nixt day went to Edenburgh to complaine; bot ſent one that ſame night to make his greeveance to the Duke, who was comd the day before to his palace of Hammilton. Thither I went nixt morning. His Grace approvd of all I had done; and there was reaſon for it; becauſe I had done nothing bot by his oune order, and his brother E. Lainricks advice. This was that great and well neere inexpiable ſinne which I committed againſt the ſacred ſoveraigntie of the kirk; for which all members were ſo implacable and irreconcileable enemies to me afterward.

Finding my Glaſgow men groune prettie tame, I tenderd them a ſhort paper, which whoever ſigned I promiſd ſould be preſentlie eaſd of all quartering. It was nothing bot a ſubmiſſion to all orders of Parliament, agreeable to the Covenant. This paper was afterward by ſome merrie men chriſtend Turners Covenant. It was quicklie ſignd

by all, except ſome inconſiderable perſons; and ſo ſoone as Duke Hammilton had cauſd read my letter in Parliament, and the ſignd papers ſent to the Clearke Regiſter, I was orderd to march to Renfrew, to reduce that ſhire to obedience. I left the Generall of the Artilleries regiment, which was not very ſtrong, at Glaſgow, and marchd with my oune (for the Parliament had given me that of Holburns, and my Lord Duke had placd me himſelfe at Glaſgow) and eleven troops of horſe; for ſtill as they were levied in the eaſt, they were ſent weſt to me. I lay at Paiſlay myſelfe with my regiment, and quarterd my troopes round about. Bot the people from ſeverall pariſhes came ſo faſt to me, offering their obedience to the Parliament, that I knew not well how to quarter my preſent men, much leſſe theſe troops, and Calanders regiment, which were on their march weſtward.

Meantime a pettie rebellion muſt be uſherd in by religion, yea, by one of the ſacredeſt miſteries of it, even the celebration of our Lords ſupper; ſo finely could theſe pretended ſaints make that *vinculum pacis*, that bond of peace, the commemoration of our Savieours ſufferings and death, that peace ſo often inculcated, and left as a legacie by our bleſſed Lord to his whole Church; ſo handſomelie, I ſay, could theſe hipocrits make it the ſimbole of warre, and bloody broyles. Whill I lay at Paiſlay, a communion, as they call it, is to be given at Machlin church, to pertake wherof all good people are permitted to come; bot becauſe the times were, forſooth, dangerous, it was thought fit all the men ſould come armed. Nixt Monday, which was their thankſgiveing day, there were few leſſe to be ſeene about the church then tuo thouſand armed men, horſe and foot. I had got ſome intelligence of the deſigne before, and had acquainted the Duke with it; who orderd me expreſlie not to

ſturre till Calander and Middletones coming; who accordinglie on the Saturday before the communion came to Glaſgow, where I met them, and then went ſtraight forward to Paſlay. A rendevous is appointed by Calander to be of horſe and foot at Steuarton hill nixt Monday. From thence Lieut. General Middleton is ſent with ſixe troopes of horſe to Machlin moore, where the armed communicants were ſaid to be. I intreated my Lord Calander (bot to no purpoſe) not to divide, bot rather march with all his forces, then hazard the overthrow of a few, which might endanger the whole. We advanced with the reſt, as the foot could march; bot it was not long before we heard that the communicants had refuſed to goe to their houſes; and having reſſaved a briſke charge of Middletons forlorne hope, had worſted it; and that himſelfe and Colonell Urrey comeing up to the reſcue, were both wounded in the heade; which had ſo appalld their troopes, that if they loſſd no ground, they were glad to keepe what they had, and looke upon the ſaincts. Theſe unexpected news made Calander leave my regiment at Kilmarnock, and take his horſe with him up to Middletone. I intreated him to march at leaſt at a great trot, if not at a gallope; bot he would be more orderlie, and therefor marchd more ſloulie. We met numbers of boys and bedees, weeping and crying all was loſt; bot at our appearance the ſlaſhing communicants left the field, the horſe trulie untouchd, becauſe not fiercelie purſued. About ſixtie of their foot were taken, and five officers. The miniſters that came in our power, who had occaſiond the miſchiefe, were nixt day diſmiſd. Nixt day we marchd into Aire, where a court of warre is appointed to be keepd about the priſoners. The country fellows of them are pardoned; the officers ſentenced to be hanged or ſhot; bot therafter were par-

dond; to which I was very inſtrumentall, thogh I had bene preſident in the court of warre. Lieutenant Generall Middletons wound, and Colonel Urreys ſufferd them to ride abroad within foure or five days. We knew not well what to doe, for Lambert was on the Border with a ſtrong part of the Engliſh armie, and in a manner keepd Sir Marmaduke Langdail blockd up at Carlile. Our west countrey was not at all ſetled, bot very readie for new commotions. Upon this E. Calander deſires a conference with the Duke, who then was at Edinburgh, to be at his oune houſe of Hamilton, to which the Duke readilie aſſented.

I had left my wife at Glaſgow, and therfor deſird libertie to goe there, and bid her good night, and accordinglie went thither. Within two nights came E. Calander, and Lieutenant Generall Middletone, and with them I went to Hammilton, takeing my leave of my deare wife, whom I did not ſee againe till ſhe ſaw me priſoner at Hull.

At Hammilton, we could not bot with much regret and diſpleaſure conſider, that Sir Marmaduke and his Lieutenant Generall Sir Philip Muſhgrave, both gentlemen of untainted loyaltie and gallantrie, had not onlie unſeaſonablie, and contrare to the advices given them, raiſd above 3000 foot and horſe, bot had marchd with them into Lancaſhire, and therby had given a juſt pretext to the Parliament to ſend Lambert with a more conſiderable power, to give a ſtop to their further proceedings; which he did ſo vigorouſlie, that Langdale was glad to ſhelter himſelfe under the walls of Carlile. This expoſd him to a certaine and preſent ruine, unles he were ſuccourd. To marche to his reliefe, were to leave the halfe of our forces in Scotland unleavied, and ane enemie behind our hand, ourſelvs in a very bad condition, without money, meale, artillerie, or amunition; to ſuffer him to periſh was

againſt honor, conſcience, and the reaſon both of ſtate and warre. It wold have given our enemies occaſion to inſult; wold have brought the Dukes honor (rudlie enough dealt with [by] ſome before) to an everlaſting loſſe, and wold have given ſuch juſt apprehenſions of jealouſies to the royaliſts in England, that never one of them wold have joynd with us, or ound us. The further debate of this buſienes is delayd till the Duke, Calander and Middletone went to Edenburgh to adviſe with the Committee of Eſtates, for the Parliament was then diſſolvd. Bot in the meane time Colonell Lockheart is ſent to command ſome brigads of horſe at Anan, and I orderd to goe preſentlie to Drumfreis, to take the command of ſixe or ſeven regiments of foot, which were to be ſhortlie there. Our neernes to Carlile was thought might give Lambert ſome ombrages of both a ſtronger and a neerer approch. Neither were we miſtaken in our conjecture; for ſo ſoone as we began to rally there, he drew his troops neerer together, and ſo Sir Marmaduk got aire, and with it ſome meate for himſelfe, and graſſe for his horſes.

In this poſture did Lockheart and I ſtay about a fortnight, tuelve miles diſtant one from ane other, till (Sir Marmaduks reliefe being concluded on at Edenburgh as purlie neceſſare,) my L. Duke, E. Calander, and Lieutenant Generall Middletone and Baillie, with many, bot weake regiments of horſe and foot, randevouſed at Anan. There I met them with my litle infantrie, amunition and a great deale of meale, which had beene ſent to me from Edenburgh and other places. Nixt day we advanced into England, order being given for all the regiments of the whole kingdome to haſte after us, except ſuch as were orderd to ſtay for defence of the countrey againſt our hidden enemies; and theſe were to be commanded by E. Lainrick, as commander in chiefe

at home. Our advance obligd Lambert to retire. Some ſkirmiſhes we had with him for a day or tuo, bot to litle purpoſe. At length he got to Steinmure, where he beganne to fortifie himſelfe. The Duke is neceſſitated to ſtay ten or twelve days at Kirbie-thure, to reſſave thoſe regiments were marching from Scotland, which did not exceed the halfe of their numbers they ſould have beene, all neulie levied, raw and undiſciplind; and that ſummer was ſo exceſſivlie rainie and wet, that I may ſay it was not poſſible for us to keepe one muſket often fixd, all the time we were in a bodie in England. Adde to this that we had no canon, nay not one field peece, very litle amunition, and not one officer to direct it. Deare Sandie being groune old and doated, had given no fitting orders for theſe things. Whill the Duke lyes at Kirbie-thure, Sir Marmaduke beſeegeth the caſtle of Applebie, in which Lambert had left a guarriſon. I am ſent with tuo brigads to ly neere him, for feare Lambert ſould face about upon him. Within a few days the caſtle yeelded.

Heere I will ſet doun ane accident befell me; for thogh it was not a very ſtrange one, yet it was a very od one in all its parts. My tuo brigads lay in a village within halfe a mile of Applebie; my oun quarter was in a gentlemans houſe, who was a Ritmaſter, and at that time with Sir Marmaduke; his wife keepd her chamber readie to be brought to bed. The caſtle being over, and Lambert farre enough, I reſolvd to goe to bed everie night, haveing had fatigue enough before. The firſt night I sleepd well enough; and riſeing nixt morning, I miſd one linnen ſtockine, one halfe ſilke one and one boothoſe, the accouſtrement under a boote for one leg; neither could they be found for any ſearch. Being provided of more of the ſame kind, I made myſelfe

reddie, and rode to the head quarters. At my returne, I could heare no news of my ſtockins. That night I went to bed, and nixt morning found myſelfe juſt ſo uſed; miſſing the three ſtockins for one leg onlie, the other three being left intire as they were the day before. A narrower ſearch then the firſt was made, bot without ſucceſſe. I had yet in reſerve one paire of whole ſtockings, and a paire of boothoſe greater then the former. Theſe I put on my legs. The third morning I found the ſame uſage, the ſtockins for one leg onlie left me. It was time for me then, and my ſervants too, to imagine it muſt be rats that had ſhard my ſtockins ſo equallie with me; and this the miſtreſs of the houſe knew well enough, bot wold not tell it me. The roome, which was a low parlour, being well ſearchd with candles, the top of my great boothoſe was found at a hole, in which they had drawne all the reſt. I went abroad, and orderd the boards to be raiſed, to ſee how the rats had diſpoſd of my moveables. The miſtreſs ſent a ſervant of her oune to be preſent at this action, which ſhe knew concernd her. One boord being bot a litle opend, a litle boy of mine thruſt in his hand, and fetchd with him foure and tuentie old peeces of gold, and one angell. The ſervant of the houſe affirmd it appertaind to his miſtres. The boy bringing the gold to me, I went immediatlie to the gentlewomans chamber, and told her, it was probable Lambert haveing quarterd in that houſe, as indeed he had, ſome of his ſervants might have hid that gold; and if ſo, it was laufullie mine; bot if ſhe could make it appeare it belongd to her, I ſould immediatlie give it her. The poore gentlewoman told me with many teares, that her huſband being none of the frugalleſt men (and indeed he was a ſpendthrift) ſhe had hid that gold without his knowledge, to make uſe of it as ſhe had oc-

caſion, eſpeciallie when ſhe lay in; and conjurd me, as I lovd the King, (for whom her huſband and ſhe had ſufferd much) not to detaine her gold. She ſaid, if there was either more or leſſe then foure and tuentie whole peeces, and two halfe ones, it ſould be none of hers, and that they were put by her in a red velvet purſe. After I had given her aſſureance of her gold, a new ſearch is made, the other angell is found, the velvet purſe all gnawd in bits, as my ſtockins were, and the gold inſtantlie reſtord to the gentlewoman. I have often heard that the eating or gnauing of cloths by rats is ominous, and portends ſome miſchance to fall on theſe to whom the cloths belong. I thank God I was never addicted to ſuch divinations, or heeded them. It is true, that more miſfortuns then one fell on me ſhortlie after; bot I am ſure I could have better forſeene them myſelfe then rats or any ſuch vermine, and yet did it not. I have heard indeed many fine ſtories told of rats, how they abandon houſes and ſhips, when the firſt are to be burnt, and the ſecond dround. Naturaliſts ſay they are very ſagacious creatures, and I beleeve they are ſo; bot I ſhall never be of the opinion they can forſee future contingencies, which I ſuppoſe the divell himſelfe can neither forknow nor fortell; theſe being things which the Almightie hath keepd hidden in the boſome of his divine preſcience. And whither the great God hath preordained or predeſtinated theſe things, which to us are contingent, to fall out by ane uncontrollable and unavoidable neceſſitie, is a queſtion not yet decided.

My Lord Duke marcheth on with this ill equipd and ill orderd armie of his, in which I being Colonell of a regiment, I officiated alſo as Adjutant Generall, or rather indeed doeing the duetie of Major Generall of the infantrie, ſince there was none namd for it. To relieve

Langdale at Carlile, brought us out of the roade, and truelie we never came in the right way againe; ſo true is the old ſaying, once wrong and ay wrong. At Hornbie, a days march beyond Kendall, it was adviſd whether we ſould march be Lancaſhire, Cheſhire and the weſtern counties, or if we ſould goe into Yorkſhire, and ſo put ourſelvs in the ſtraight roade to London, with a reſolution to fight all wold oppoſe us. Calander was indifferent; Middletone was for Yorkſhire; Baillie for Lancaſhire. When my opinion was aſkd, I was for Yorkſhire, and for this reaſon onlie, that I underſtood Lancaſhire was a cloſe countrey, full of ditches and hedges, which was a great advantage the Engliſh would have over our raw and undiſciplind muſketeers; the Parliaments armie conſiſting of experienced and well traind ſojors, and excellent firemen; on the other hand, Yorkſhire being a more open countrey, and full of heaths, where we both might make uſe of our horſe, and come ſooner to puſh of pike. My Lord Duke was for Lancaſhire way, and it ſeemd he had hopes that ſome forces would joyne with him in his march that way. I have indeed heard him ſay, that he thought Mancheſter his oune, if he came neere it. Whatever the matter was, I never ſaw him tenacieous in any thing during the time of his command bot in that. We chooſd to goe that way, which led us to our ruine. Our march was much retarded by moſt rainie and tempeſtuous weather, wherof I ſpoke before, the elements fighting againſt us; and by ſtaying for countrey horſes to carry our little amunition. The vanguard is conſtantlie given to Sir Marmaduke, upon condition he ſould conſtantlie furniſh guides, pioneers for clearing the ways, and which was more than both theſe, to have good and certaine intelligence of all the enemies motions. Bot whither it was

by our falt or his neglect, want of intelligence helpd to ruine us; for Sir Marmaduke was well neere totallie routed, before we knew that it was Cromwell that attackd us: *Quos vult perdere, hos dementat Jupiter.*

Beſide Preſton in Lancaſhire, Cromwell falls on Sir Marmadukes flanke. The Engliſh imagine it was one Colonell Aſhton, a powerfull preſbiterian, who had got together about 3000 men to oppoſe us, becauſe we came out of Scotland without the Generall Aſſemblies permiſſion. Marke the quarrell. While Sir Marmaduke diſputs the matter, Baillie, by the Dukes order, marcheth to Ribble Bridge, and paſſeth it with all the foot, except tuo brigads. This was tuo miles from Preſton. By my Lord Dukes command, I had ſent ſome amunition and commanded men to Sir Marmaduks aſſiſtance; bot to no purpoſe; for Cromwell prevaild, ſo that our Engliſh firſt retird and then fled. It muſt be rememberd that the night before this ſad rencounter, E. Calander and Middleton were gone to Wigham, eight miles from thence, with a conſiderable part of the cavalrie. Calander was comd backe, and was with the Duke, and ſo was I; bot upon the rout of Sir Marmaducks people, Calander got away to Ribble, where he arrivd ſafelie by a miracle, as I thinke; for the enemie was betueene the bridge and us, and had killd or taken the moſt part of our tuo brigads of foot. The Duke with his guard of horſe, Sir Marmaduke with many officers, among others myſelfe, got into Preſton toune, with intention to paſſe a foorde below it, thogh at that time not rideable. At the entrie of the toune, the enemie purſued us hard. The Duke facd about, and put tuo troops of them to a retreate; bot ſo ſoone as we turnd from them, they turnd upon us. The Duke facing the ſecond time, charged

them, which ſucceeded well. Being purſued the third time, my Lord Duke cryd to charge once more for King Charles. One trooper refuſeing, he beate him with his ſuord. At that charge we put the enemie ſo farre behind us, that he could not overtake us ſo ſoone. Then Sir Marmaduke and I entreated the Duke to haſt him to his armie; and truelie he ſhew heere as much perſonall valour as any man could be capable of. We ſuimd the river, and ſo got to the place where Lieutenant Generall Baillie had advantageouſlie lodgd the foot on the top of a hill, among very fencible incloſures.

After Calander came to the infantrie, he very unadviſedlie ſent ſixe hundreth muſketeers to defend Ribble bridge; for the way Cromwell had to it was a deſcent from a hill that commanded all the champaigne, which was about ane Engliſh quarter of mile in length betueene the bridge and that hill where our foot were lodged; ſo that our muſketeers haveing no ſhelter, were forced to reſſave all the muſketades of Cromwells infantrie, which was ſecure within thicke hedges; and after the loſs of many men, were forced to runne backe to our foot. Here Claud Hammilton, the Dukes Lieutenant Colonell, had his arme broke with a muſket bullet. The bridge being loſt, the Duke calld all the Colonells together on horſebacke, to adviſe what was nixt to be done. We had no choyce bot one of tuo, either ſtay and maintaine our ground till Middletone (who was ſent for), came backe with his cavalrie; or els march away that night, and find him out. Calander wold needs ſpeake firſt; wheras by the cuſtome of warre, he ſould have told his opinion laſt, and it was to march away that night ſo ſoone as it was darke. This was ſeconded by all the reſt, except by Lieutenant Generall Baillie and myſelfe. Bot all the arguments we uſed, as the impoſſibilitie of

a safe retreat from ane enemie ſo powerfull of horſe, in ſo very foule weather, and extremelie deepe way, our ſojors exceeding wet, wearie, and hungrie, the inevitable loſſe of all our amunition, could not move my Lord Duke by his authoritie to contradict the ſhamefull reſolution taken by the major part of his officers. After that the drumles march is reſolvd on, and bot few horſe appointed to ſtay in the reare of the foot, I inquird what ſould become of our unfortunate amunition, ſince forward with us we could not get it. It was not thought fitt to blow it up that night, leaſt thereby the enemie ſould know of our retreate or rather flight. I was of that opinion too, bot for ane other reaſon; for we could not have bloune it then, without a viſible miſchiefe to ourſelves, being ſo neare it. It was ordaind it ſould be done three hours after our departure, by a traine; bot that being neglected, Cromwell got it all. Nixt morning we appeard at Wiggam Moore, half our number leſſe than we were; moſt of the faint and wearie ſojors haveing lagd behind, whom we never ſaw againe. Lieutenant Generall Middletone had miſd us, for he came by ane other way to Ribble bridge. It was to be wiſhd he had ſtill ſtayd with us. He, not finding us there, followd our tracke, bot hotlie purſued by Cromwells horſe, with whom he ſkirmiſhd the whole way, till he came within a mile of us. He loſt ſome men, and ſeverall were hurt; among others Colonell Urrey got a dangerous ſhot on the left ſide of his heade, wherof, though he was afterward taken priſoner, he recoverd. In this retreate of Middletons, which he managed well, Cromwell loſd one of the gallanteſt officers he had, Colonell Thornton, who was runne in the breaſte with a lance, wherof he dyed. After Lieutenant Generall Middletons comeing, we beganne to think of fighting in that moore; bot

that was found impoſſible, in regard it was nothing large, and environd with encloſurs which commanded it; and theſe we could not maintaine long, for want of that amunition we had left behind us; and therfore we marchd forward with intention to gaine Warinton, ten miles from the moore we were in; and there we conceavd we might face about, haveing the command of a toune, a river, and a bridge. Yet I conceave there was bot few of us thought we might be beaten, before we were maſters of any of them. It was towards evening, and in the latter end of Auguſt, when our horſe beganne to march. Some regiments of them were left with the reare of the foot; Middleton ſtayd with them; my Lord Duke and Calander were before. As I marchd with the laſt brigad of foot through the toune of Wiggam, I was alarmd that our horſe behind me were beaten, and runne ſeverall ways, and that the enemie was in my reare. I facd about with that brigad, and in the market place ſerrd the pikes together, ſhoulder to ſhoulder, to keepe up any ſould charge, and ſent orders to the reſt of the brigads before to continue their march, and follow Lieutenant Generall Baillie, who was before them. It was then night, bot the moone ſhone bright. A regiment of horſe of our oune appeared firſt, riding very diſorderlie. I got them to ſtop, till I commanded my pikes to open, and give way for them to ride or runne away, ſince they wold not ſtay. Bot my pikemen being demented, (as I thinke we were all,) wold not heare me, and tuo of them runne full tilt at me. One of their pikes, which was intended for my bellie, I gripd with my left hand; the other run me neere tuo inches in the innerſide of my right thigh; all of them crying, that all of us were Cromwells men. This was an unſeaſonable wound, for it made me after that night unſervicable.

This made me forget all rules of modeſtie, prudence and diſcretion. I rode to our horſe, and deſird them to charge through theſe foot. They, fearing the hazard of the pikes, ſtood. I then made a cry come from behind them, that the enemie was upon them. This encouragd them to charge my foot ſo fiercelie, that the pikemen threw doune their pikes and got into houſes. All the horſe gallopd away; and, as I was told afterwards, rode not thorough, bot over our whole foot, treading them doune; and in this confuſion Colonell Lockheart was trode doune from his horſe, with great danger of his life. Thogh the enemie was neere, yet I beate drums to gather my men together. Shortlie after came Middletone, with ſome horſe. I told him what a diſaſter I had met with, and what a greater I expected. He told me, he wold ride before and make the horſe halt. I marchd, however, all that night, till it was faire day; and then Baillie, who had reſted a litle, intreated me to goe into ſome houſe and repoſe on a chaire; for I had ſleepd none in tuo nights, and eate as litle. I alighted, bot the conſtant alarums of the enemies approch made me reſolve to ride forward to Warinton, which was bot a mile; and indeed I may ſay I ſleepd all that way, notwithſtanding my wound. I thought to have found either the Duke or Calander, or both heere, bot I did not; and indeed I was often told that Calander carried away the Duke with him, much againſt his mind. Heere did the Lieutenant Generall of the foot meet with ane order, wherby he is required to make as good conditions for himſelfe and thoſe under him as he could; for the horſe wold not come backe to him, being reſolvd to preſerve themſelvs for a better time. Baillie was ſurpriſd with this, and lookeing upon that action which he was orderd to doe as full of diſhonor, he loſd much of that patience of which naturallie he was

maſter; and beſeechd any that wold to ſhoot him thorough the head. At length, haveing ſomthing compoſd himſelfe, and much ſollicited by the officers who were by him, he wrote to Cromwell. I then told him, that ſo long as ther was a reſolution to fight, I wold not goe a foot from him; bot now that they were to deliver themſelvs priſoners, I wold preſerve my libertie as long as I could, and ſo tooke my leave of him, carrying my wounded thigh away with me. I met immediatlie with Middletone, who ſadlie condold the irrecoverable loſſes of the tuo laſt days. Within tuo hours after, Baillie and all the officers and ſojors that were left of the foot, were Cromwells priſoners. I got my wound dreſſd that morning by my oune ſurgeon, and tooke from him theſe things I thought neceſſare for me, not knowing when I might ſee him againe; as indeed I never ſaw him after.

That unhappie day we met with Cromwell at Preſton, ſome regiments of horſe, and our Iriſh auxiliaries under the command of Sir George Monro (who were fifteene hundreth good foot and three hundreth horſe, and were appointed, againſt all reaſon of warre, to be conſtantlie a days march behind us) all of them, I ſay, finding the enemie had got betweene us and them, marchd ſtraight backe to Scotland, and joynd with E. Lainricks forces. Bot ſo ſoone as the news of our defeate came to Scotland, Argile and the Kirks partie roſe in armes everie mothers ſonne; and this was calld the Whiggamer rode. Da. Leſlie was on their heade, and old Leven in the Caſtle of Edinburgh, cannonading the royall troopes when they came in view of him. Yet might they have been all verie ſoone conjurd to be quiet, if the royaliſts had not ſuffered themſelves to be cheated by a treatie, by which they were obligd to lay down armes, and quite their power in civill and

militarie affaires. Bot the principall men of them, particularlie the Earles Lauderdaile and Lainrick, Sir George Monro, Dalyell and Drummond, and others, found it not ſaife to truſt the Saincts too much, and therfor croſd the ſeas, to take ſanctuarie in Holland. Cromwell at Warinton ſends Lambert with a ſufficient cavalrie after us, and follows Monro with the ſtrength of his armie to the Border, and there is invited by the Preſbiterians to enter Scotland. He gets Berwick and Carlile baſelie yeelded to him; and in one of them a number of Engliſh gentlemen who had ſervd the King; ane infamous act! He is feaſted by old Leven, (peeres of one tree) in the Caſtle of Edenburgh; which within tuo yeares after he made his oune. Theſe men, who courted him, were ſo faithfull to the Covenant, that if fame wrong not ſome of them, they agreed with him in my Lady Homes houſe in the Canongate, that there was a neceſſitie to take away the Kings life. Now, for the good intertainment the Preſbiterians had given this Arch Independent, at his returne to England, he left Lambert, (who had diſpatched us before) with foure regiments of horſe, to defend them againſt the Malignants (for ſo were honneſt men called), till forces of their oune were raiſed, which was ſoone done. And then Acts of State and Kirke are made, to incapacitate all who had beene in England with the Duke, all who had abetted that engadgment, or had conſented to it, from any office, charge or employment in State, Church, or Militia; and numbers of honneſt Miniſters, upon that ſame account, turned out of their benefices and livelihoods.

To returne to the Duke in England. At night, after I left Warinton, when I came to him, all the reſolution I found taken was, to march forward a day or tuo, and then by a turne to endeavour to get into

Scotland; for there was then no vifible partie for the King in England to joyne with; Cromwell haveing, before he came to us, routed and broken all theſe who roſe in Wales, and hangd many of the principal gentlemen of them. And Fairfaxe had broke all theſe who roſe for the King in other counties, firſt under the Earle of Holland, and then under the Earle of Norwich, chaceing him and the remainder of them into Colcheſter, which, after a ſiege, was ſurrendered to him on diſcretion, as I thinke. Heere Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lile were cruellie dealt with, having bot tuo houres given them to prepare for death; and after that ſhort time, by the inſtigation of wicked Ireton, Cromwells ſonne in law, mercileſlie ſhot dead.

The firſt day, then, of the Dukes march from that place where I found him, was to Whitechurch, (in what countie I do not remember.) There a great number of the countrey traind bands appeard againſt us, bot were quicklie put to flight by Middleton, without bloodſhed. That day we marchd many miles, and at night moſt or all the horſe lodgd in the field, where their horſes fed well. Some officers went to houſes; bot I lodgd at a hedge, and ſleepd there ſo ſound, that at break of day the trumpets could not waken me; that being the fourth night in which I had ſleepd none, except on horſebacke. Nixt day we made a long halt at a countrey toune, I thinke in Staffordſhire, called Stone. Heere, becauſe we had not enemies enough to take our lives, a trooper killd his oune Ritmaſter, one Patrick Grey, who had beene a captaine under me in my Lord Sinclars regiment. The trooper was in the place ſhot dead, by my Lord Dukes command; who, to ſpeake truelie, was too ſpareing in taking lives, his clemencie occaſioning the keeping very bad diſcipline the whole time of our march in England.

A litle after we had removd from that place, Lieutenant General Middletone making good the reare againſt ſome of the countrey militia troopes, was taken; his horſe having fallen under him. He was carried to Stafford; and indeed, after that, we might trulie have ſaid we were all priſoners; for I am ſure enough, if he, or rather we, had eſcapd that miſfortune, ſuch unhappie accidents had beene prevented by him, which ſhortlie ruind us. And I know not bot he keeping us united, might not at a long runne have brought himſelfe and moſt of us to Scotland. We came at night to Uxeter, in moſt tempeſtuous, windie, and rainie weather. Nixt morning, when we were on our march, a great unwillingneſs in the horſemen, and ſome of their officers to march further; the wearines of both man and horſe, ane irreſolution whether to goe, and moſt of all, a fatalitie which purſud us, made the Duke turne backe, and take up his quarters in the ſame toune. Neither that day nor nixt night was any thing reſolvd on, bot to reſt and refreſh man and horſe, and then either treate with theſe forces that had ſurrounded us, or fight them and march away. Sir Marmaduk Langdale, and theſe few Engliſh who were with him, had left us at Uxeter. He was taken afterward, bot ſavd his life by eſcapeing out of priſon. The Duke and Calander fell out, and were at very hie words at ſupper, where I was; each blameing the other for the miſfortune and miſcarriage of our affaires; in which conteſt I thought the Duke had the better of it. And heere, indeed, I will say, that my Lord Dukes great fault was in giveing E. Calander too much of his pouer all along; for I have often heard him bid him doe what he pleaſed, promiſeing to be therwith well contented. And therfor Calander was doublie to be blamd, firſt for his bad conduct, (for that was inexcuſable,) and nixt for

reproching the Duke with that whereof himſelfe was guiltie. To fill up the meaſure of our miſfortunes, our troopers mutine againſt the Duke, Calander, and all their officers. Whether this proceeded of their oune wickednes, or by the inſtigation of ſome of their oune commanders, (which I then ſhrewdlie ſuſpected,) is uncertaine. The Duke and Calander are keepd priſoners, with ſtrong guards of the mutineers, all nixt night in the Dukes lodgeing, with many other officers, and among others myſelfe. Nixt morning, ſo ſoone as I could ſee, I cald over the window of the Dukes bedchamber to them, and aſkd them, if they were not yet aſhamd of the baſe uſage they had given their Generall, and of that contempt they had ſhown of all diſcipline, and of the ignominie of this action; and requird them, if for no other reaſon, yet for their oune ſafetie from the common enemie, to returne to their duetie, and goe home to their lodgings. Immediatlie they removd their guards, and went to their ſeverall quarters, curſing in generall words theſe who had prompted them to the mutinie; which augmented my former ſuſpition, but it was no time to make a ſtrict inquirie in the buſieneſs. Shortlie after, Calander went away with as many as would follow him; which indeed were more than the halfe of theſe were in toune. No intreatie of the Duke or mediation of the officers could prevaile with him. I dealt particularlie with him, bot in vaine. He uſd many arguments to move me to goe along with him, bot I told him, if I keepd my life, I wold be one of the laſt men ſould ſtay with the Generall. I heard that not long after he was deſerted by all that went with him, as he had deſerted my Lord Duke. Yet he had the good fortune (which I believe no other officer of our armie had,) to get ſafe to London in a diſguiſe, and from thence to Holland.

I muſt remember heere, that the day after we returnd to Uxeter, there came ſome gentlemen of Staffordſhire with a trumpet from the governour of the toune to my Lord Duke, who ſhew his Grace, that in the time Middletone had ſervd the Parliament in the qualitie of Major Generall, he had done many good offices to both the town and the ſhire; and therefor to witnes their thankfulnes, they were comd to intreate his Grace to permit them to carry Middletons ſervants, horſes and baggage to him at Stafford. This was readilie granted by the Duke, with his heartie thankes to the gentlemen for their ſo ſeaſonable kindnes. Standing by the Duke when this paſſed, I bethought myſelfe of ſending ſome moneys in Middletons coffers. There was a hundreth and fiftie pounds ſterline of it, which one of our commiſſaries had intreated me to cauſe ſome of my ſervants carry, becauſe in our tumultuarie march after Preſton, he knew not what to doe with it. Lieutenant Generall Middletone haveing taken 500 lb. ſterline from ſome other commiſſaries, upon that ſame account, I dealt with Middletones ſecretarie and his valet de chambre, to take my money with them; bot they both rudlie and obſtinatlie refuſd it, till I conjurd the uncivill humour out of them, with the pouerfull charme of tuentie pound ſterline, and then they found roome for the reſt of the money. Some of this I gave afterwards to our ſojors, who were priſoners at Stafford, and much I lent to indigent officers, and tooke notes from them for it, which I got occaſion to ſend to my wife in Scotland, who got thankfull payment afterward of much of it.

Calander being gone, there was ane abſolute neceſſitie impoſed on the Duke to capitulate with the Governor of Stafford, who had about 3000 of the countrey militia with him, with which we were ſurround-

ed. Sir James Foullis of Colinton, Colonell Lockheart and myſelfe are namd and commiſſionated by my Lord Duke to treate. We met with the governour and ſome of the principall gentlemen, three miles from Uxeter, at a very pleaſant houſe in Staffordſhire, where, as they had told us, Mary Queene of Scots had beene long keepd priſoner. This with ſuperſtitious people wold have lookd ominous for us, who were of that nation. In our treatie, we found them very civill and rationall, and ſo much friends to monarchie, that we had reaſon to expect no bad conditions from them. Bot Fortune had not yet made peace with us. We are interrupted by a meſſenger ſent by Lambert, to acquaint both them and us that he was comd within tuo miles of that place, and that, if we wold treate, it muſt be with him. Theſe were no good news, yet we preſentlie horſd and went to him. We found him very diſcreet, and his expreſſions civill enough. He appointed three principall officers to treate with us, wherof Lieutenant Generall Lilburn was one. After much diſcourſe, they offerd to us, if we wold redeliver Berwick and Carlile to the Engliſh Parliament, we ſould be permitted to goe; nay, we ſould be convoyd backe to Scotlande. We told them we had no pouer in our commiſſion to ſpeake of theſe tounes; and ſo other articles were agreed on by us, bot not ſignd till I ſould goe firſt to the Duke and ſhow him, if he wold ſurrender theſe tuo touns, he and all with him ſould have their libertie; if not, we were by the articles all priſoners. He abſolutlie refuſd to engadge for the deliverie of theſe places, as a thing he ſaid was not in his pouer; juſtlie ſuſpecting the Deputie Governors of the touns wold not obey his orders in the condition he was; and ſo with many ſorrowfull expreſſions diſmiſſd me. Upon the way as I returned, I met Lambert, with ſome troops,

who told me he was goeing to ſave my Lord Duke from my Lord Grey of Groobie, who was marching towards Uxeter on the other ſide of the toune, which I knew before I came from the Duke to be true. He deſird me by all meanes to haſt the ſigning the articles, which he promiſd to ratifie. At my returne, I told my comerads what reaſon we had to make haſte; and haveing reported the Dukes anſwer to the Engliſh officers, we all immediatlie ſignd the articles, which, indeed, if they had been malitious, they might have wavd; for whill we were about it, one Major Gib, ane officer of our oune, came very unmanerlie into the roome, belching out his folly in theſe words: "Gentlemen, what doe ye dooe? The Duke and all who are with him are my Lord Greys priſoners." Yet the commiſſioners ſigned for all that; and indeed my Lord Duke was by that time priſoner, bot Lambert tooke the protection of him; for our agreement was ratified by him, and by the Duke too, for he was not to be eſteemed a priſoner, becauſe taken in the time of a ceſſation and treatie, againſt cuſtome of warre. Our firſt article was for the Duke, that he ſould onlie be a priſoner of warre, nor ſould his life ever be queſtiond or in danger. He ſould keepe his George; ſixe of his ſervants, ſuch as he ſould chooſe, ſould be permitted to attend him, and ſixe of his beſt horſes likewiſe; that in his priſon acceſſe of all perſons to him ſould be allowd;—conditions good enough, but very ill keepd. The ſumme of the reſt of the articles was this: That all of us, both officers and ſojors, ſould be priſoners of warre, bot civillie uſed, till we could procure our libertie by exchange or ranſome; that all of us ſould keepe the cloths we had on us, and all the gold and money we had about us, all other baggage, armes, and horſes, ſould be bootie and priſe to the victor. We three

who had capitulated, were orderd to be carried to Stafford, where Middletone was. The captain who conducted us thither got our horſes and armes. As we rode thorough Uxeter, we made a ſtand at the window of the Dukes chamber; and he looking out, we tooke our eternall farewell of him, with ſad hearts parting from him we were never to ſee againe. He ſpoke kindlie to us, and ſo we left him to act the laſt and worſt part of his tragedie.

At Stafford, where were very many priſoners, we ſtayd, I thinke, ſeven or eight days; and then came a Ritmaſter (who had beene a glover, and ſtill keepd both the mine and manners of a mechanick,) with fortie horſe, and ane order from Lambert to cary my Lord Cranſton, Lieutenant Generall Middletone, Colonel Lockhert and myſelfe, to Kingſton upon Hull. One Major Crafurd, with much importunitie, got leavé to goe along with his couſine Lockhert. We tooke our leave of our fellow priſoners, and of the governour, who had beene very civill to us; and ſo had all his officers, and the touns people likewiſe. This Ritmaſter was a fellow of low qualitie, weake intellectualls, a violent Independent, a mortall enemie to the King, his familie and all monarchie; a perſecutor of Preſbitrie. For the reſt of his endouments, we found him not ill natured; neither will I wrong him much if I beſtow upon him the title of a foole. He furniſhd horſes for ourſelvs and ſervants. My Lord Cranſtoun had tuo ſervants allowd him; ſo had the Lieutenant Generall, Collonell Lockheart and I, each of us one. The Ritmaſter and his litle troope was but ill mounted, and therfor gave us eaſe enough on our journey; neither was it unpleaſant, except when the ſad remembrance of our oune condition, and that of all honneſt men, mixd too much water with our wine. On

the fifteenth of September, if I remember right, we arrivd at Hull. Our Ritmaſter left us at Yorke, to whom, becauſe he was not very uncivill, we gave tuentie five pounds ſterline in gold, wherof my ſhare was five. And heere I muſt make a litle ſtop, (for indeed I did ſo, ſtaying there long enough,) and looke backe a litle.

It is a true ſaying, "Man propons, and God diſpons;" neither is it in the pouer, or within the reach of the wit of weake man, to project a buſieneſs with ſo much caution, or proſecute it with ſoe much induſtrie, prudence or courage, bot it may be blaſted from Heaven, and renderd unſucceſſull by theſe contingencies which can neither be forſeene nor prevented. The truth of this we found in this unhappie expedition. What was intended for the Kings reliefe and reſtoration, poſted him to his grave. His ſad impriſonment calld for aſſiſtance from all his loyall ſubjects, which as a duetie the laws both of God and man ſeemd to impoſe on them. Our hopes of ſucceſs were great, grounded on the equitie of our juſt undertakeing, the prevailing of the royall partie in Ireland, the returne of moſt of the navie to their duetie and obedience, under the then Prince of Wales, now King; the numerous and loyall riſeings of many ſhires in England and Wales, againſt that uſurped pouer which keepd his Majeſtie in reſtraint, and upon our oune ſtrength; for our armie was intended to have beene tuentie thouſand foot, and fixe thouſand horſe and dragoons. Bot we never amounted to fourteene thouſand in all. Theſe were honneſt and faire motives for that loyall and well intended engadgment of ours; bot,

Ludit in humanis divina potentia rebus.
The heavens brings things unto ane other end,
Then that, for which blind man did them intend.

The Allmightie in his inſcrutable will had orderd matters otherwiſe, and refuſd a bleſſing to that unhappie armie; for the ruine and deſtruction wherof did contribute, as ſecond cauſes, the miſchieveous retardment and obſtruction Argile and his kirke ſo vigorouſlie made, which hinderd us to come time enough to joyne with the ſoutherne counties; Langdales unadviſed and too ſudden levies, and his unſeaſonable march to Lancaſhire, which obliged Lambert to come againſt him, and chace him to Carlile; which impoſd a neceſſitie on the Duke to march to his releefe, before he was halfe readie; the weaknes, rawnes, and undiſciplindnes of our ſojors, our want of artillerie and horſes to cary the litle amunition we had, the conſtant rainie, ſtormie and tempeſtuous weather which attended us, which made all hie ways impaſſible for man and beaſt, our want of intelligence, our leaveing our Iriſh auxiliaries ſo farre behind us, and our unfortunate reſolution to wave Yorkſhire, and march by Lancaſhire; all which, being hinted at by me before, made us a prey to Cromwells veterane armie. Hence followd the alteration of the government in all the three kingdomes; the Kings execrable murther, who was brought from Cariſbroke Caſtle to Weſtminſter, is arraignd, impeachd, condemnd, and hath his heade ſtrucke off in the ſight of the ſun at noontide of the day, at the gate of his oune palace of Whitehall; and the death and totall ruine of moſt of the royall partie.

Bot to returne to Hull. Colonell Robert Overton was governor there; a great Independent, who hath ſince had his ſhare of impriſonment, both under the Uſurper Oliver, and under his preſent Majeſtie; ſo it wold ſeeme he hath beene ane enemie to monarchie, whatever name it had, whether King or Protector. Civill and diſcreet he was,

had been at ane Inns of Court, was a ſchollar, bot a litle pedantick. He made us wellcome, and lodgd us tuo months in tuo ſeverall inns, where we were well enough uſed for our money, and well enough guarded withall. Before the end of that time, my Lord Cranſton, by the mediation of his father in law Generall Leven, was firſt carried away from us to Neucaſtle, and therafter ſet at libertie. At the end of theſe tuo months, Middletone and Lockheart, by the interceſſione of their friends, likewiſe were carried to Neucaſtle; bot Major Crafurd was not permitted to goe with his couſine Lockheart. After that, Middletone got libertie to goe to and ſtay at Berwick, till his ladie was brought to bed there; when that was done, he made his eſcape to Scotland, which wold have coſt him deare three years after, if he had not playd the ſame game, and eſcapd out of the Toure of London. Lockheart might have been releaſd for ſome money; bot whether it was to ſpare that, or to enjoy the too acceptable ſocietie of Paul Hobſone, he knows beſt. After they were gone, I am put in the Provoſt Marſhalls hands, and Major Crafurd to beare me companie. I had, notwithſtanding that I was in the common priſon, which formerlie had beene the Houſe of Correction, ane indifferent good chamber, and a good bed for myſelfe, and ane other for my ſervant. I was very ſtrictlie guarded, and no leſſe than five centries keepd conſtantlie about me. I learnd the alteration of my uſage afterward, and the cauſes of it.

After Cromwell had left Lambert in Scotland, he marchd to Pomfret Caſtle; which Lieutenant Colonell Morris had ſurpriſed, and keepd then for the King, for which they hangd him afterward at Yorke. Whill I was priſoner at Hull, Cromwell beſiegeth it, and ſends for Overton to command in that ſervice nixt to himſelfe. In the meane

time, Argile and the Kirk being able to ſtand on their oune legs, diſmiſſd Lambert with many thankes. He had beene very well entertaind in Scotland, which made him ſo deſireous to returne to it tuo yeares after. So ſoone as he came to Pomfret, Cromwell thought he ſpent his time not well in takeing a caſtle from the King, when he intended to take the heade from the King; left Lambert to reduce Pomfret, ſends Overton back to Hull, and marchd directlie to London with the reſt of his forces, to murther the beſt of Kings.

At the governors returne to Hull, he required me to plight my faith to him, by a revers under my hand, to be a faithfull priſoner, and not goe without the walls of Hull without his libertie. He brought me this meſſage himſelfe. I told him I was readie to doe it, provided he removd his guards from me; which he refuſeing to doe, I ſhew him that if he tooke my parole or faith, he was obliged to truſt me; for, *fides et fiducia ſunt relativa;* and if he tooke my word for my fidelitie, he was obliged to truſt it, otherwiſe it was needles for him to ſeeke it, and in vaine for me to give it; and therefore I beſeechd him, either to give truſt to my word, which I ſould not breake, or to his oune guards, who, I ſuppoſd, wold not deceive him. In this manner I dealt with him, becauſe I knew he was a ſchollar. He acknouledgd all I ſaid to be true, bot withall he told me, I muſt either doe all he deſired of me, or doe worſe. I prayd him to tell me what was that? He ſaid he had order from his Lieutenant Generall, meaning Cromwell, to keep me in irons; bot he thought the ſeverenes of that command proceeded from the care he had I ſould not eſcape. The Governor himſelfe conceavd, if he keepd me ſo well that he might preſent me to the Lieutenant Generall when I was calld for, he had made choyce of a way for it

more tolerable for me. He promiſd to befriend me as much as he could, without his oune prejudice, and ſo indeed he did; bot affurd me any rough uſage I reſſavd or might reſſave, came out of Scotland. I then gave him what he demanded, with many thanks for not putting his order in execution. I could not then bot reflect upon the kind recommendation that Argile, or ſome of that partie, had given to Cromwell of me; and I make no doubt but if greater matters had not chacd the remembrance of me out of Cromwells mind, and ſome miſunderſtandings that aroſe betueene him and his friends in Scotland, that they could not convenientlie put him in mind of me, ſome greater miſchiefe then impriſonment had befallen me. Moſt of all theſe priſoners of warre that were in the common goale with me, were ſhortlie after releaſd one way or other, and ſo was Major Craford alſo; bot in all their roomes came Colonell Boynton, who had perſuaded his brother (thogh a great Independent) to declare himſelf and the Caſtle of Scarborough, wherof he was Governour, for the King. A fine young gentleman this was, had ſtudied in one of the univerſities, was travelld, and well ſeene in hiſtorie and in the preſent ſtate of Chriſtendome. He and I were conſtantlie guarded with tuentie muſketeers. The Marſhall who had the principall government of us, was one Watſone, who had beene ane Alderman and wooll merchant in Dubline, and had broke for 25,000 lb. sterline; he was afterward Marſhall Generall in Scotland. He was civill enough to us, and after the Kings reſtoration, I chancd to doe him ſome favours at Edinburgh. He had a depute under him, one Lindale, one of theſe we call good honeſt men, or if you pleaſe, a ſillie ſimple fellow. Under him there was a third, called Standfield; he was ſince a regiment marſhall at Aire, and lives now at Newbotle in

Scotland. He was our turnkey, and lockd us in our ſeverall chambers everie night. We dieted with him for eightene pence a meale for each of ourſelves, and eight pence for each of our ſervants. I payd for neere a twelvemonth a ſhilling ſterline every night for my oune bed, and a groat for my mans; a ſhilling everie day for coales, and a groat for candles, ſummer and winter. I had much comfort in Boyntons companie ſo long as he ſtayd, which was full ſix months; and then he got his libertie on bond.

In the month of December, 1648, my wife came out of Scotland to me. I was extreamlie glad to ſee her, thogh very ſory ſhe ſould have made ſo long a journey in ſo bad a time of the yeare. She had obtained in Scotland ane order from Lambert to Overton, to ſend me to Neucaſtle; bot he excuſd himſelfe, in regard he had a later order from him who commanded over Lambert. Yet my wife, much againſt my will, wold needs goe to Lambert at Pomfret, where he reſſavd her civillie, bot ſaid it was not in his power to contradict his Lieutenant Generalls order. She returnd, after getting bad entertainment and lodgeing at Pomfret, and after a pitifull journey of threeſcore miles, in deepe and allmoſt unrideable way, and in moſt ſtormie and rainie weather. She ſtayd about a month with me, much to my comfort; and ſore againſt her will returned to Scotland, whether I would have her goe to looke to our particular affaires. It is to be ſuppoſed we parted ſorroufullie, and ſo indeed we did; yet not without hopes to see one aneother joyfullie againe, as it pleaſed God we did a twelve month after.

Haveing accuſtomd myſelfe all my life over to be ſometimes ſolitarie and retird, wherin I ever tooke much delight, I did not take my reſtraint ſo greevouſlie as theſe would doe, who either will not or can-

not live without companie. And haveing the uſe of bookes, paper, pen and ink, I deceavd the longnes of the time with readeing and writeing. Withall, the Governour permitted me not onlie to goe to church, bot to walke ſometimes on the toune walls, with one of my marſhalls and tuo muſketeers with me; ſome honneſt royaliſts of the toune were permitted alſo to give me viſites. Yet for all theſe comforts I came to the knowledge of ſome things (for I had the reading of all the Gazets and Diurnalls) which made my reſtraint more bitter and heavie to me than otherwiſe it wold have beene; for not to ſpeake of the cruell uſage I had in Scotland, men looking where any money of mine was to be got, and immediatlie ſeizd on, the diſertion I met with of all my friends, yea my neereſt relations, for theſe concernd onlie myſelfe; firſt, I heard how mercileſslie the preſent Committee of Eſtates, who had uſurped the government, had uſed men of all ranks and qualities, who had given bot the leaſt occaſion to ſuſpect their honeſtie and loyaltie; ſecondlie, the baniſhment of the peers of England out of the Upper Houſe, and the extruſion, or as they calld it, the excluſion of the honneſt members of the Houſe of Commons, by Collonell Pride, at Cromwells command; which portended, thirdlie, the Kings execrable murther the 30th of Januare, 1649; fourthlie, the taking Duke Hamiltons heade of on a ſcaffold at Weſtminſter in March after. They beheaded him as Earle of Cambridge, and ſo a Peere of England, without haveing any regard at all to the articles he had for life; bot in this I ſuppoſe Cromwell did nothing without advice from Scotland. Heere I can not bot bewaile the fate of that miſfortunate Lord, who was a perſon of excellent qualities, of a great underſtanding, and good expreſſions, curteous, affable, humane; ſo mercifull that he was bot a bad

Juſtitiare, which I thought was a blemiſh in him; one of the beſt maſters to vaſſalls and tennants that our kingdome afforded. His conſtellation had inclind and appointed him to be a good ſtateſman, and to be happie in the enjoyment of his Prince his favour, the *ſummum bonum* of courtiers, bot to be unfortunate in all his militarie employments both by ſea and land. Moſt unhappie he was in his honour, which was branded moſt part of his life with foule aſperſions of diſloyaltie and treacherie; neither will venemous tongues ſuffer his aſhes to ly quiet, bot caſt duſt upon them as if he had dyd as a foole. I had onlie the honor to know him when he was my generall, and I believe he was faithfull to his ſoveraigne all his life; bot in the time he had the conduct of that unfortunate armie, I dare ſueare the deepeſt oath for his fidelitie and loyaltie, and that he intended nothing bot the full reſtoration of the King, for whom he dyed a martyr. Immediatlie after him were beheaded on that ſame ſcaffold, E. Holland and the brave Lord Capell. Fifthlie, as I was glad to heare of Lieutenant Generall Middletons eſcape out of Berwick, and that he was upon the heade of a royall partie in the north of Scotland; ſo it was grievous to me to heare that, in his abſence from that partie, moſt of it was routed and beaten by Ker and Strachan, and himſelfe forcd to be contented with ane aſſurance that he might live at home in peace; ſo litle did that riſeing contribute to the preſent Kings ſervice. Sixthlie, I could not bot be exceedinglie greevd to heare all the canons about the walls of Hull ſhot, and ſee bonefires made in the ſtreets, for joy of that victorie. Colonell Michael Jones had got, by a deſperat ſally out of Dubline, of the Marques of Ormond and all his numerous armie, even when he was abſolutelie maſter of all Ireland except Dubline, Dundalk, and Londondarrie; and

at that time too when Cromwell was readie with ane armie at Milford haven to croſſe over to Ireland, to purſue that victorie, and reduce that kingdome to the Parliaments obedience, as he did. Seventhlie, I was ſorry to heare, that any thing might have been done for the King in Scotland, was totallie obſtructed by the irreconcileable animoſities betueene Duke William Hamilton and the Marqueſſe of Montroſſe at the Haag, where they were both with the King; as alſo that his Majeſtie, in ſteade of goeing to Ireland, which might have been preſerved, was perſuaded to goe ſee his mother in France; from whence he went to Jerſey, where he winterd in the yeare 1649, till ane addreſſe from the governing partie in Scotland brought him out of it to Breda, there to treate with his Scots Commiſſioners. I confeſſe that all theſe ſad intelligences comeing on the necke of other, did much afflict my ſpirit, yet not ſo much bot that I ſtill hopd to live and ſee ane alteration; for after a great ſtorme, of neceſſitie a calme muſt follow.

Overton had promiſd, that ſo ſoone as Cromwell went out of England, he wold propoſe ſome way for my libertie. So ſoone, then, as he was arrivd in Ireland, I put my Governor in mind of his promiſe. He adviſeth me, in regard Watſone my marſhall was goeing to London about his oune affaires, I ſould give him ſome moneys, for which he wold oblige him to agent my buſienes according to his direction, which was this. A friend of his, one Colonell Nidam, was killd in the Parliaments ſervice, and had left his wife very poore. She ſould petition the Parliament to give her a priſoner, for whoſe libertie ſhe might get ſome money. He ſaid there was no doubt bot the Parliament wold referre the petition to Generall Fairfaxe, and then he wold deale with Mr Clerke, (who was then Fairfaxes ſecretarie under Ruſhworth,

ſince knighted by the King, and killd at ſea,) that I ſould be the man, if I wold ſatiſfie the widow. I humblie thankd him for this very kind proffer, and readilie accepted of it. The Governor writes to London with Watſone, who ſtayd ten weekes, moſtlie at my charges. The Governor had caſt up a right account; for a letter is obtained to him from Fairfaxe to ſet me at libertie, I giveing my paroll to goe beyond ſeas, and not to returne to any of the three kingdomes for a yeare, bot not one word of money. I am preſentlie taken out of my priſon houſe, my guards removed, and I accommoded in that inne where firſt we were lodged when we came to Hull; the beſt inne of the toune.

The nixt day I went to Overton, both to give him my reall thankes for this ſuperlative favour, as alſo to know what he wold appoint me to give the widow and Mr Cleark; for thogh there was mention made of none of them in his Generalls order, yet I intended not to be ungrate, or omit to pay that duetie I owed to both. He aſkd me what I wold beſtow on each of them? I told him, fiftie pounds on the widow, and ten on Mr Cleark. He replyd it was too much, and therfor he wold ſave me fifteene pounds of that ſoume; for the widow ſould have bot fortie, and Mr Cleark five. This I preſentlie payd; neither wold Overton ſuffer me to preſent either himſelfe or his ladie with any token of my thankfulnes. This was the moſt curteous Independent I ever met with. My marſhall and his deputes I ſatiſfied ſo well, that they did not complaine of me. Moneys were furniſhd me not onlie for this, bot for all my charges the whole time of my impriſonment, by one Maſter Key, who that yeare was ſhrive of the toune. They were repayd to him by David Wilkie, a merchant of Edinburgh, they tuo haveing beene well acquainted together in Spaine. Mr Key and

ſome other honneſt Royaliſts of the toune had given me ſeverall viſits, when I was in the Provoſt Marſhalls companie, bot there we might not ſpeake bot before one of my keepers; bot when I came to lodge in the inne, they and I converſed freely together, to both our great ſatiſfactions.

I reſolvd to be gone with the firſt ſhip went from Hull, whatever place of Chriſtendome ſhe was bound for, feareing I might be ſtopd by ſome new order. Sixe weeks after, a cloth ſhip made ſaile for Hamburg with a convoy of threttie guns. In the convoy were ſome merchants belonging to that ſtaple, all men for the new Commonwealth. I wold not goe with them, but went in the cloth ſhip, where one Maſter Robbieſone was maſter, ane honneſt and well principld man. We went doune the Humber, at the mouth wherof we met with a very faire wind, which in foure dayes time put us in the mouth of the Elve; and as we went up that river, I found a gret change ſince the time I was there before, about Geluctſtad, a toune of the King of Denmarks; his block houſes there, whereby he had exacted toll of all ſhips that paſſd, being demoliſhd, by vertue of ane article of the peace he had made with Sueden, after foure yeares unfortunate warre. That article was made by the inſtigation of the citie of Hamburg, which had notablie aſſiſted the Sueds againſt their lord and protector the King of Denmark. Tuo days after, we arrivd and landed at that rich and flouriſhing citie.

Among other favours I reſſaved from Colonell Overton, Governour of Hull, this was not the leaſt, that he permitted me the uſe of all the bookes the ſtationers of that place could afford, for which I payd them money weeklie; and, which I valued more, he allowd me the uſe of pen,

paper and inke; which were tuo very comfortable and profitable divertiſements to me in that affliction. Heere it was where I wrote ſome collections of the ſtate of Europe, from the yeare 1618, that the dreadfull comet appeared, till the year 1638, that the Scots Covenant appeared in the world, which produced as ſad and lamentable effects as that comet did. Heere I wrote alſo [ſome] eſſays and diſcourſes, and that with ſo much confidence and freedome, as if I had beene at my full libertie, that I am ſure if Overton had peruſd them, he had found ſo much ſpoke to the diſadvantage of his maſters of the new Commonwealth, that he wold have given a ſtop to my releaſment. Bot he ſufferd me to cary all my papers with me untouchd and unſeene by himſelfe or any other. And ſo I tooke my leave of him, and of Hull alſo, in the beginning of November 1649, after I had beene priſoner fourteene months or thereby.

MEMOIRS OF SIR JAMES TURNER;

PART SECOND,

WHEREIN ARE CONTAINED

THE REMARKABLE PASSAGES OF HIS LIFE

FROM HIS RELEASMENT OUT OF PRISON AT HULL,

IN OCTOBER 1649, TILL NOVEMBER 1663.

SIR JAMES TURNER'S MEMOIRS.

WHEN I arrivd at Hamburg out of Hull in November of the year 1649, I found a number of Scotch gentlemen who either had ſervd the late King, or intended to ſerve the preſent one, attending the orders and motions of the famous Marqueſſe of Montroſe; who haveing truſted too much to Vlefeld the Great Steuart of Denmarks promiſes of aſſiſtance, found himſelfe diſappointed by that faithles miniſter of eſtate, who afterwarde went faire to betray both his prince and countrey. This obliged the Marques to retire himſelfe to Gottenburg in the Suedish dominions, where he was underhand ſupported, bot very inconsiderablie, by the great Queene Christina. If I had beene provided then with moneys, without which I could put myſelfe in no equippage, I had runne the hazard of goeing to Scotland with the reſt who accompanied the Marqueſſe, ſhortlie after, in that laſt miſfortunate and fatall expedition of his. Bot I could be maſter of no money till I came to Holland; and therfor by my letter offerd my ſervice to my Lord Marques, which the Lord Napier was pleaſd to ſend under his couvert, and to which I had a very favorable returne, and invitation from the Marques to come to him, writ with his oune hand.

I went by land to Holland, accompanied with Colonell Sibbald, who carried letters from Montroſe both to Scotland and Ireland. From Roterdame I wrote with him to my wife at Edinburgh, to furniſh him with a conſiderable peece of money, (for he was not well ſtored,) which ſhe did; and he had his heade chopd of not long after at the Croſſe of Edinburgh; ſo I loſd both my friend and my money. My wife, in a ſtormie and tempeſtuous winter, gave me a viſite in Holland; and haveing furniſhd me with what I moſt ſtood in need of, returnd with much trouble and danger to Scotland. I paſd the reſt of the winter in viſiteing the beſt places in Holland; and in March of the yeare 1650, went to Breda to attend the treatie betueene the King and his Scottiſh ſubjects; the iſſue wherof was a gracieous condiſcendence of his Majeſtie to all or moſt of their demands; and with them he went to Scotland, accompanied with ſeverall Lords, who after his arriveall were removd from him, and himſelfe ſo uſed as I wiſh poſteritie may never know.

I then put on a reſolution to goe to Sueden, and under a notion to ſeeke ſome arreares were due to me, to ſee the glorie of the Suediſh Court, and the magnificence of Chriſtinas coronation. I arrivd at Elſennure, where finding the wind turne contrare for ſome days, I alterd my reſolution; and haveing ſeene the King of Denmark and his Court at Coppenhagen, his ſtatelie palace of Frederichſburg, and his ſtrong caſtle of Cronenburg, I returnd to Holland, after I had endurd a horrible tempeſt at ſea. I intended then to have gone to France, bot the late Earle of Southeſke, then Lord Carnegie, perſuaded me to accompanie him to Scotland. We landed the very night before Cromwell beate the Scotiſh armie at Dumbar. My Lord and I found, that the perſecution of theſe who had aſſented to, or acted in Duke Hammiltons engadgment,

as it was calld, was as hote as ever; which obliged us that very night to depart the toune, and take up our lodgeing with a gentleman six miles from Aberdeene, where we had landed. My Lord and I parted at his fathers houſe of Kinnaird.

I went privatlie to Fife, where I had the comfort to meet with my deare wife, who haveing put her beſt things in the Caſtle of Edinburgh, and left the reſt to their hazard, came and livd with me that winter at Diſart.

About this time, the monſtrous Remonſtrance was hatchd; and if Lambert had not, by good fortune to us all, beaten Colonell Ker at Hammilton, I beleeve the King had beene juſt as ſafe at St Jonſton, as his father was at Weſtminſter. The deſperate condition of affaires movd ſome of the beſt naturd of the Preſbiterian cleargie to thinke of ſome meane, to bring as many hands to fight againſt the publike enemie as was poſſible; and therfor, notwithſtanding all their acts of Aſſemblies and Commiſſions of the Kirk to the contrare, they declared all capable of charge in State or Militia, who would ſatiſfie the Church, by a publike acknowledgment of their repentance for their acceſſion to that ſinfull and unlawfull Engadgment. The King commanded all who had a mind to ſerve him, to follow the Churches direction in this point. Heerupon Duke Hamilton, the Earles of Craufurd and Lauderdaill, with many others, were admitted to Court, and numbers of officers reſ-ſaved and put in charge, and entruſted with new levies. My guilt in affronting the Miniſtrie, (as they calld it) in the perſon of Mr Dick at Glaſgow, and my other command in the Weſt, retarded my admiſſion very long; bot at length I am abſolved, and made Adjutant Generall of the Foot; and after the miſfortunate rencounter at Innerkeithen,

had once more Lieutenant Generall Holburns regiment given me by his Majeſties command.

Behold a fearfull ſinne! The Miniſters of the Goſpell reſſavd all our repentances as unfained, thogh they knew well enough they were bot counterfeit; and we on the other hand made no ſcruple to declare that Engadgment to be unlaufull and ſinfull, deceitfullie ſpeakeing againſt the dictates of our oune conſciences and judgments. If this was not to mocke the allknoweing and allſeeing God to his face, then I declare myſelfe not to know what a fearefull ſinne hypocriſie is.

The defeate of that part of the armie at Innerkeithen, Cromwells march with moſt of his forces to St Jonſton, whereby he cut of all ſuccourſe of men and meate from the North, obliged the King, with the advice of the Committee of Eſtates, to lay preſent hold on occaſion to leave the rebell behind him, and march with his whole armie from Stirline into England. The horſe and dragoons might be about foure thouſand; and the foot, as I reckond them that day we marchd from Stirline parke, were upwards of nine thouſand. A traine of artillerie of ſome field peeces and leather canon we had, with ſuteable amunition, under the conduct of Sir James Wemis Generall of the Artillerie. We got quicklie to Engliſh ground, bot with a great deale of miſchiefe to all theſe poore Scotch people by whoſe dwellings we marchd, robbing and plundering being uſed by the ſojors, even to admiration and inhumanitie. Neere to Carlile, the King is proclaimd King of England and Ireland, with the great acclamations of the armie; and ſevere commands made againſt all other robberies, plunderings and exactions; which being put in execution by hanging tuo or three, were well enough obſerved, and very good order and diſcipline keepd the whole march.

I will not amuſe myſelfe to relate all the particulars, circumſtances, or miſcarieages of this unfortunate expedition, my intention being to ſpeake of what befell myſelfe till this preſent yeare of God. In that armie I was Colonell of foot, and Adjutant Generall; and with no better fortune then I had when I exercd theſe charges in the yeare 1648.

Lambert and Harrieſone being beaten from Warinton bridge, and all their Cheſhire foot chacd away from them, the King declind to march ſtraight to London, from which upon his approach it was thought the Parliament wold have removd to Windſor; and ſo we went ſtraight to Worceſter, where we lay till Cromwell came and facd us; and after three or foure days reſpite, in which time he gatherd a great bodie of the countrey traind bands, to the number of five and tuentie thouſand at leaſt, beſides his veteran armie; and then he forcd us to fight on the third day of September, with a great deale of diſadvantage both for ground and numbers, bot with much greater miſfortune.

Heere was the gros of the royall armie routed; ſome great officers eſcapd, and three thouſand horſe with them; which bodie might have, no doubt, made a ſecond warre in Scotland, bot falling in peeces by bad conduct, they came everie mothers ſonne in the pouer of the enemie. His Majeſtie, by the good hand of God, eſcapd ſafelie, and was preſervd to be a bleſſing to his three kingdomes. The manner how, and what way he got out of England to France, notwithſtanding all the means the rebells uſd to get him in their pouer, may be ſeene in the hiſtorie of his life written by Edward Philips.

Many thouſands were carried away priſoners to London, to give

the people ane affured demonſtration of Cromwells unqueſtionable victorie. Among the reſt I was one. At or neere Oxford, the Marſhall Generall (who indeed was as civill as a man of his charge could be,) exacted from the Lords, Officers and Gentlemen, who were priſoners, a parole and reveſe ſignd with their hands, to be faithfull priſoners, which moſt of all willinglie did; bot Generall Dalyell, and Lieutenant Generall Drummond knouing I intended to endeavour my eſcape, refuſed to ſigne, leaſt I, being the onlie perſon that wold not ſubſcrive it, might have beene the worſe uſed. The ſecond night of our ſtay at Oxford, with the helpe of our hoſte, a barger, a barbour, and a ſhoemaker, I got out of the top of the houſe, and thorough ane other voyd houſe, eſcapeing all our guards both of horſe and foot, not without obſtructions and ſome merrie paſſages, the memorie wherof was afterwards pleaſant, thogh then I runne tuice the neere hazard of breakeing my necke. I lay tuo days and nights in the garret of a new houſe, which had neither doore nor window in it. The ſearch, which was not very ſtrict, being over, and the priſoners with their guards prettie well advancd touards London, I creepd out of my retreate, and in a very pitiefull diſguiſe, accompanied with halfe a dozen of watermen, (who had all ſerved the late King as ſojors,) tooke my journey ſtraight to London. The firſt day I walkd afoot to Morley, which was tuentie miles from Oxford; but my feet were ſo ſpoiled with the clouted ſhooes which I wore, and myſelf ſo wearie, that my companions were forcd to carry me almoſt the laſt tuo miles. Luſtie, ſtrong and loyall fellows they were, bot extreamlie debauchd. They miſd not one alehouſe in the way, and my paying for all the ale and beere they dranke (for I thanke God they wold drinke no wine,) did not at all

trouble me; but it was a vexation to me to drinke cup for cup with them, els they ſould have had no good opinion of me, and to them I was neceſſitated to reveale myſelfe, my honneſt barger goeing before us all the way a horſebacke, and ſo ſerving us for a ſcout. At Morley I hird ane old carkaſſe of a horſe from a knaveiſh old fellow, who made himſelfe exceeding merrie with me, jeering me verie broadlie; and indeed I was in ſo wofull a plight that I was ridiculous enough, neither could any man have conceavd that ever I had beene ane officer in any armie of the world. On horſebacke I came from Bramford, thretteene miles from Morley, and ſeven from London, and rode thorough at leaſte tuo hundreth red coates that had convoyd my countreymen to Titlefield; bot was well ſeconded in paſſing them by my truſtie comerades, the watermen. At Bramford I tooke oares, and in the night time landed at Weſtminſter ſtaires, which I had never ſeene; for I came in ane evill houre to London, where I had never beene before. I was lodgd that night with ane honneſt Welchman, to whom my barger reveald what I was, that he might make me knoune to ſome of the Royal lpartie, for I had no acquaintances in that great citie.

After I had repoſed myſelfe tuo days, wherof I ſtood in great need, ſome clothes, linnens and a litle money, were ſent me by three honneſt men, and brought to me by my hoſte. The clothes I accepted, bot refuſd the money, and nixt night I was brought by water to the citie, to the three gentlemen who had ſent me ſo ſure tokens of their kindnes, and whom I had never ſeene all my life before. Three loyall perſons they were, who, after they had made themſelvs knoune to me, they deſired a particular rehearſeall of the King's miſfortunate expedition, and his loſſe at Worceſter; which they heard with as grievd hearts

as I related it. They thought it fit to lodge me in a publike inne within the citie, and entruſted me to the care of the drawer, who was both ane honeſt and ane underſtanding fellow. That houſe I changed, and ſo did I many others, till I lighted on the houſe of ane honneſt widow, who had no creature in the houſe with her bot her oune daughter; and there indeed I was as ſecure as if I had beene in my mothers houſe. Severall appointments were made betueene my three noble friends and me, and all punctuallie keepd. Their kindneſs I can never forget, unles I intend to accuſe myſelfe of the higheſt ingratitude. They entruſted me with a meſſage to the King, wherin his Majeſtie was neerlie concernd, which I faithfullie deliverd to him at Paris.

Immediatlie after the firſt time I had ſpoke with theſe three Royaliſts, I went back to Weſtminſter, to take my leave of my honneſt barger and watermen, who had by that time ended their buſieneſs; for the watermen were led as witneſſes of a ryot, alledged to have beene committed by the barger, and if the matter was referd to their oath, I need not doubt bot he was affoyld, let his guilt be what it wold. I was given out all the way from Oxford to be a witneſſe alſo; I was borne in a countrey village in Oxfordſhire, where I had never ſeene or learnd any good manners or breeding; and I was called Richard, or Dicke; bot I changed that and five or ſix more names before I got out of London. After I had drunke a dozen of beare with them, I offerd everie one of them a tuentie ſhilling peece of gold as a token of my thankfullnes, bot I could not for my heart perſuade any of them to take it; onlie I movd each of them to take halfe a croune, wherwith they ſaid they wold drinke my health in their returne to Oxford; and ſo after many embraces we parted. The like honeſtie I met with at Oxford before;

for neither my barbour nor ſhoomaker wold, for any intreatie of mine, take either gold or moneys from me; bot they tore away all the ribbands that were on my clothes, and ſaid they wold weare them till the Kings reſtoration, which they ſaid they were ſure wold be nixt yeare. Colonell Prides ſonne haveing given me faire quarter when he tooke me, I had ſavd ſome of my gold; and when I made my eſcape, Generall Dalyell had lent me ten peeces, one wherof I gave to my hoſteſſe at Oxford, when ſhe lighted me to the garret of her houſe; ane other I gave to the bargers wife as a token. Sixe I ſpent in my tuo days journey to London; the reſt maintaind me well enough till I was ſupplyd out of Scotland.

When I went abroad, I did it either by coach or water; for the ſtreets were full of Scotſmen, eſpeciallie ſojors, who might have wrongd me with unſeaſonable kindnes. For the moſt part I keepd my chamber; and then I had time and leiſure enough to reflect on the deplorable condition of the King and all the Royall familie, of the three kingdomes, eſpeciallie my native countrey of Scotland, now reducd to a province by the moſt inſolent of Rebells. But, *proximus eſto tibi* is ſo true a ſaying, and ſo agreeable to mother Nature, that . . . . . and therefore I ſeriouſlie conſidered the evill aſpect of my oune particular affaires, the many tryalls and afflictions I had met with in the courſe of my life, and what a great one I had now to wraſtle with, my wife haveing beene in Dundee when it was taken, a world of blood ſpilt in it, the toune ſackd and plunderd. This I knew at Oxford, but did not, nor could not, learne what had becomd of my deare wife, till three weeks after my comeing to London; and then I was certainlie informed that ſhe had ſavd nothing of all ſhe had of moneys,

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clothes and mooveables, except the cloths ſhe had upon her; bot that her life wes ſaved, and that ſhe was returned on foot to Diſart. I was exceedinglie comforted to heare that her life was given to us as a prey, for which mercy I bleſd God. The miſfortune of dolefull Dundee fell on the firſt day of September, and ours in England on the third therof. My wife and I, by our mutuall letters, underſtanding of each others wellfare, I recommended her to the divine Providence, who in his oune good time wold bring us together againe.

I durſt not hazard to goe out of England, till it was knoune that his Majeſtie was ſafelie arrivd at Paris. The ſearch then not being ſo ſtrict, I reſolved to be gone either for Holland or France. I had keepd a conſtant correſpondence with Lieutenant Generall Middletone, then priſoner in the Toure, by Major Strachan, now Sir John Strachan. I ſtill aſſurd him, for my intelligence by my Engliſh friends was very good, that his life wold be taken, ſo ſoone as he was cured of a ſhot he had reſſavd in his bodie; and therfor had layd doune three ways for his eſcape; one of them being by a falſe key to open his chamber doore (whill Strachan ſould be drinking with the keeper in ane alehouſe,) and diſguiſed in a blacke ſute of apparrell, with a periwig of red haire, to walke at all leiſure out of the Toure, accompanied with Captaine Hay, (who was bot ſlenderlie rewarded for this faithfull ſervice,) and ſo ſould goe to the lodgeing I had provided for him. This way, I ſay, was that wherby he obtaind his libertie. The pretence they had to put him to death was, that he had broke his parole in eſcapeing out of priſon at Berwick, as they alledged. He pretending not to be guiltie of this alledged crime, his neereſt friends not feareing his life, prevaild with him not to hazard the loſſe of his eſtate in Scot-

land, which wold be aſſuredlie forfeited if he broke out of priſon. Upon this advice he ſent me a meſſage by Major Strachan, ſhouing me his reſolutions, and deſird me to put myſelfe to no further hazard for him, bot be gone as ſoone as I could to the King. He ſent me a memoriall of what I was to ſay to the King from him, as alſo to all his friends at Paris. I was trulie ſorry to ſee him ſo eaſilie perſuaded to put his life in ſo needles a hazard; bot ſeeing my ſtay was to no purpoſe, I prepard to make my eſcape out of England, as I had done out of Oxford. To this did exceedinglie help me, a paſſe which one Mr Harrie Knox, ane expectant miniſter, had got by the Counteſſe of Devonſhires meanes, from the pretended Councell of State. He altering his reſolution of goeing to France, gave me the paſſe; and after I had ſtayd three or foure nights with a ſiſter of mine in Kentſhire, I came to Dover, accompanied with one Maſter Simſone, a brother of my brother in laws. I was more ſtrictlie lookd to and examind then was ordinarie; and one James Tours, a Scotſman duelling there, was brought to ſee and ſpeake with me. He was like to undoe me with queſtions. I found it was neceſſare to try his honeſtie; for impriſonment was the worſt could befall me, haveing never broke either word or writ; for I thinke faith ſould be keepd to the worſt of men. Whill the Governor Colonell Temple was boweing his heade to ſpit, I gave Mr Tours a ſigne wherby he might ſoone know I was not the true Mr Harie Knox. He provd ane honneſt man, and indeed ſavd me, by not putting me to anſuere any more hard interrogatories. In a word, Colonell Temple could find me neither gentleman, miniſter, ſojor, or merchand; bot a ſervant to the old Earle of Morton, which James Tours knew well enough to be a ly.

The matter was this. Middletone had eſcapd out of the Toure the day before, and theſe at Dover haveing never ſeene him, and tuo hundreth pounds being offerd to any that could find him out, wold needs have me to be him. Bot being cleard of that very groſſe errour by Mr Tours, I was ſufferd to paſſe with the packet boate. My Ladie Middletone haveing found by ſome diſcourſes with Sir Arthur Haſelrig, and Lamberts ladie, the truth of that I had ſo often averd, that they intended to put her huſband to death, adviſd him to fly and ſave his life; which he did, as I ſhew a litle before. I had acquainted Major Strachan with the miſtres of my houſe, and ſhe promiſd to make the gueſt I entruſted to her very wellcome; and ſafe enough he was all the time he ſtayd in London, thogh the ſearch was ſtrict enough was made for him. He paſd under the name of Maſter Anderſone, and Major Strachan was at that time Andro Reid. I had entruſted none bot him, my brother in law, and the miſtres of the houſe with the ſecret.

I had a letter to the King from the impriſond miniſters, Middletons Memoriall, and ſome other papers of concernment, all which I cloſd by way of packet in a ſheet of paper, and gave them to James Tours to put in the boxe. They were directed to "Jacques Broune à Calais;" for I was to have that name at Paris, and all letters to me to be directed ſo. Nixt day when I arrivd at Calais, I went to the poſt houſe and paid eight ſous for my owne packet. I had imparted to Mr Simſone Middletons eſcape, what hand and concern I had in it, conjurd him to haſte to London, aſſureing him he wold find him at my old lodgeing; and withall I gave him my paſſe to carry him, which might ſerve Middletone to good uſe, provided he did not touch at Dover, which I beſeechd him not to doe. Maſter Simſone went away

that night, after he had ſeene me boated, found Middletone in the appointed place, and did him very great ſervice; and indeed was the man that lodgd him at his fathers houſe in the countrey, five or ſixe days, till he had agreed with a boate to carry him to France. Bot the maſter haveing got foure pounds in earneſt, cheated them; yet Maſter Simſone prepard and agreed with ane other veſſell, the maſter wherof proveing honneſt, landed Middletone and Major Strachan ſafelie in Normandie.

I made ſhort ſtay at Calais, goeing with the firſt meſſenger, day and night, in a pitifull cold ſeaſon, to Paris; where, haveing kiſd the Kings hands, I deliverd all my meſſages to him. I was graciouſlie reſſavd by his Majeſtie, and wellcomd by all my friends and acquaintances. Not long after, Lieutenant Generall Middletone arrivd, who ſent for me before his comeing was knowne. I ſtayd a night with him, and nixt day brought my Lord Neuburgh to him, and the day after that, he went to Court at the Louver, where he had a moſt gracieous reception from his Majeſtie, and a heartie wellcome of all attended him. The Marques of Ormond, and Sir Edward Hide, then Chanclor of the Exchequer, made up a knot of friendſhip with him, which I beleeve be yet to unty. This was diſpleaſing to many who lovd none of thoſe tuo; for even then was this litle Court divided into factions and fractions.

Within a few weeks after his comeing, I retird to a private houſe in the fauxbourg or ſuburbe of Sainct Antonie, from the companie of all my countreymen, that I might learne ſome French; the readeing, writeing, and underſtandeing which language I had, without any other helpe bot that of a grammar and dictionarie, ſtudied during my impri-

ſonment at Hull in the yeare 1649. Heere I ſtayd ten or tuelve weeks, till both the King of France and the Prince of Condes armies drawing neere that place where I lodged, made me retire into the Citie; bot not before I ſaw the Prince his forces, after a ſtout reſiſtance, beaten into the Port of Saint Anthonie; which being ſhut, they had in all probabilitie beene ſacrificed to Cardinal Mazarinis juſt revenge, if the Duke of Orleans had not forcd the gunners of the Baſtile to diſcharge all their canon againſt his maſter and nephew the King of France, who was perſonallie preſent with his armie; and that his daughter Madamoiſelle, had not, with her viragolike preſence and eloquence, cajold the burgeſſes guards ſo well, that without conſent of the magiſtrats, they opend the port, and ſufferd the Prince and the forces he had with him to march thorough the citie, and croſſe the river of Sein at the New bridge.

Before this, the Archduke Leopold, taking his advantage, whill the King of France his ſuord is draune in his oune defence againſt the neereſt Princes of his blood, marchd to Eſtampes, five leagues from Paris, yet did no great feats. Charles Duke of Lorraine marchd alſo with a flying armie of ten thouſand men to Charenton, tuo leagues from Paris, with a reſolution to joyne with the Princes. Him Marſhall Turenne facd; bot whill they prepare to fight, the King of Great Britaine mediats a truce, and obtaines it, by which the Duke was obliged to march ſpeedilie out of France, and not to returne to it for fourteene days; and ſo the Lorrainer marchd backe againe, plundering all before him according to his cuſtome. This good office done to the French King, procurd to ours the evill will and hatred of his neereſt kinred; for indeed it ruind the Prince of Conde, and it ſtird

up againſt his Majeſty the populace, who breathd nothing ſo much as the deſtruction of Mazarini; even ſo farre as it was not ſafe for the King to entruſt himſelfe longer in the Louver, or for his followers to ſtay longer in Paris. The Palace of St Germans in the Lay is by the King of France his command provided for him. Thither he goes with the Queene his mother, and his ſiſter Princeſſe Henrietta; for the Duke of Yorke before that, had gone to Mareſhalle Turenne to look after adventures, and perfite the ſkill he allreadie had in the militarie art. Moſt of theſe who attended the Court followd him; and I accompanied thither General Middletone. We went by boate, and in great danger of robbers and voleurs, the river being but narrow, and the tuo armies on both ſides of it. He had, a litle before that, got a commiſſion to be Captaine Generall of all his Majeſties forces in the kingdome of Scotland; and he was to haſten to Holland and other places, where he might expect any aſſiſtance of moneys from well affectionate Scotſmen, wherwith to provide armes and amunition for theſe who were allreadie afoot for the King in the Hielands.

I was appointed by him to goe to the Low Countreys before him, and waite his comeing at the Haag; bot I was neceſſitated to ſtay till the true Maſter Harie Knox (who had beene ſent with letters to the King from the priſoners in the Touer) was diſpatchd; and that could not be done in a ſhort time, being ſome of the priſoners, and the Chiefes of theſe who were in armes in the hills, wold be ſatiſfied with no letters bot ſuch as were all writ with the Kings oune hand. He being diſpatchd, and I haveing kiſd the Kings hands, Sir Johne Keith, brother to the Earle Marſhall, David Ramſay, Mr Knox and I, made a pleaſant journey in the beginning of September 1652 to Rowen, where I had a

care to ſee Mr Haries papers ſo well packd up in ſhoes and ſlippers, that they were bot in ſmall hazard of any diſcoverie. He went for England, and deliverd all his letters and inſtructions, many of which were ſent to the hills, bot neither in one place or other did theſe papers, which the King had writ with ſo much trouble, produce the wiſhed effect of union, bot in the contrare diſunited men of one intereſt; which may be imputed to the perfidieous wrong ſuperſcriptions, interlineings and miſdeliveries of his Majeſties letters; all which the late Chanclor of England, the Earle of Clarenden, did in the yeare 1660, a little before the King was proclaimed in England, in a long diſcourſe with me at Breda, lay at my Lord Balcarris doore, how trulie, I ſhall not judge.

Sir Johne Keith and I went from Rouen by land to Diepe, from that by ſea to Calais, where finding a little veſſell readie bound for Fluſhing, we embarked that night. Nixt morning, paſſing by Dunkirke, we were examind by ane Admirall of a Spaniſh fleet, which keepd that toune blockd up by ſea. There we ſaw tuo great guns fire often from a batterie at land againſt the toune; for Leopold haveing taken Graveline, had beſeegd Dunkerke alſo, then keepd by the French. It was not long after ſurrenderd to him, wherin the Engliſh were very inſtrumentall; for the Duke of Vendoſme being ſent by the French King with a ſtrong navie, in which he carried recruits of men, moneys, victualls and amunition, the Engliſh, farre too ſtrong, ſet upon him, and carried his fleet to England; and after Dunkirk had yeelded to the Spaniard, they releaſed the ſhips, and landed all their men in French ground.

Sir Johne Keith and I being diſmiſd by the Spaniſh Admiral, landed

that night at Fluſhing. From thence we went to Roterdame, where we found my Ladie Middletone with much longing expecting her huſband. She had her brother with her, Major Durhame, afterwards a titular Colonell, Sir Alexander Durhame, and Lyon King of Armes. When I was at Amſterdame about ſome particular buſienes, my Ladie had a meſſage from Breda, that her huſband the Generall was arrived there, very ſick of a tertian. She went thither; and not long after, I came to him at that ſame place. Within a month he was in a capacitie to make diſpatches; and I was ſent with a commiſſion from him, and many letters from the King, to ſome places in Low Germanie, to ſeeke the aſſiſtance of ſuch Scotch gentlemen as I had formerlie been acquainted with in the German warre. In all theſe journeys, I was my oune purſemaſter; and ſpending my oune, I found myſelfe countable to no man. I began my journey the firſt of November, 1652; a very bad time of the yeare to travell day and night with a poſte. In Februare nixt I returnd to the Generall, bringing with me fifteene hundreth dollars. In Aprile 1653, I was ſent backe to ſome other places; and that ſummer I reſſaved three thouſand foure hundreth dollars, which I ſent to the Generall by bill of exchange, retaining for my charges ſo much as he was pleaſd to allow me. What I had done encouragd him to ſend his brother in law, Durhame, to Sueden; where our countrymen contributed for the Kings aſſiſtance about ſeven or eight thouſand dollars, beſides what was got in Holland from well-affected Scotſmen there, and five thouſand guldens which the Princeſſe Royall advanced.

That ſummer I deſird my wife to give me a viſite in a ſtrange land once more, and to meet me at Bremen, which ſhe readilie did, and in

June arrivd ſafelie there; the which meeting, after all theſe traverſes, was exceeding comfortable to me. I could not learne what keepd the Generall ſo long in Holland; waiting whoſe orders, I ſtayd ſtill at Bremen with my wife, not onlie all that ſummer and harveſt, bot nixt winter alſo. I had adviſd him to give no commiſſions till he came to the hills, that everie mans merite might be cognoſcd on. This he faithfullie promiſd, bot forgot it; for he gave bot too many, and among others, one was ſent to me, to exerce the ſame charges I had at Worceſter, which I accepted.

In Februare 1654, the Generall made ſaile from Amſterdame to Cathnes, accompanied with my Lord Napier, Sir George Monro, Generall Dalyell, and Lieutenant Generall Drummond, and many other gentlemen; and though he had promiſd to ſend for me, that I might goe along with him, yet he did it not, bot wrote to me to follow him. In Aprile nixt I entruſted myſelfe to ane honneſt ſkipper, who livd in Bremen, bot had beene borne in Scotland. I reſolvd to goe with him to Norway, where he was to take in a loadeing of timber, and from thence to Fife; and ſo caſt myſelfe on Providence, it not being poſſible for me to forſee how I could get to the hills from that place. After tuentie days tempeſtuous voyage at ſea, we arrivd at Norway; and after a months ſtay there, we went againe to ſea, and on the ninth day came to the coaſt of Fife. I went aſhore beſide Enſter, in the night time, being then in June. I ſufferd the ſkipper to take all my clothes, piſtolls, carabines and ſaddles with him, all which he burried under ground at Culros. After ſome privat ſtay in Fife, I was furniſhd with tuo indifferent good horſes, by tuo noble and loyall gentlemen; and haveing got moſt of my things with great hazard and diffi-

cultie out of Culros, and meeting with five or ſixe officers of the armie, (for ſo they calld themſelvs) I went to the hilles as farre as Locherne, where I met with ſome others, who pretended to a great deſire they had to be with the armie. I encouragd them much to ſo loyall ane action, bot found it was not their earneſt; for they did bot leade me up and doune the countrey, without ever draueing neere the armie; which they might eaſilie have done, it being then at the heade of Loch Tay, from whence it removeing, and Monck followuing, it was never poſſible for me afterwards to come to it.

A guarriſon of Engliſh, both foot and horſe, lying at Drummond Caſtle, I lurkd ſome time about Locherne, with very much danger; and at that time, I had the bad fortune to ſee numbers of horſmen which belongd to the Kings armie paſſe that way, ſeekeing to get to their ſeverall homes; haveing taken a libertie to themſelvs to diſband, after ane unhappie rencounter at Lochgarie betueene Generall Middletone and Morgan, wherein the royall partie was worſted, bot with the loſſe of very few men. I ſpoke with moſt of theſe horſemen, and found they were all willing to continue in the ſervice, if their horſes were put in caſe, who were all pitifullie beaten, and that they had put themſelvs in ſome better equippage, which indeed I ſaw to be as bad as could well be imagind. Upon conſideration heerof, I wrote to the Earle of Glencairden, who haveing done ſome handſome things before Middletones arriveall, had acquird the affection of both the countrey and ſoldierie, bot upon ſome diſſatiſfaction given him, had left the Generall, and retird himſelfe with ſome Lords and Gentlemen, to the Ile of Makfarlen. I ſent my letter (a copie wherof I keepd, and yet doth) by a truſtie hielander. In it, I adjurd his Lordſhip by all that was

or could be deare to him, to appoint a rendevous for theſe diſperſed troopers, if he pleaſd, three weeks after the date of the letter; aſſureing him they wold punctuallie keepe it, as men who were very readie to obey all his orders; and withall offerd my ſervice in it, or any thing els wherin he conceavd me able to advance the grand deſigne of his Majeſties ſervice. I reſſaved his anſuere, which did not at all pleaſe me; for by it my Lord told me, he could doe none of theſe things I deſird him; being he was layd aſide as uſeles to the King or his ſervice; with ſome other expreſſions of reſſentment of the injuries had beene done him. This made me ſenſible that the Kings affaires in that countrey were all out of frame, and made me conclude it neceſſare, that he who was moſt concernd ought to know his oune condition, and that it could be repreſented to him by no fitter perſon than myſelfe, who I found could doe him no good where I was. And heerupon I put on a reſolution to get out of Scotland as ſoone as I could.

To this purpoſe of mine, a faire occaſion offerd itſelfe. One Menyies, a lieutenant of horſe, had about eighteene or tuentie troopers, and a trumpeter, with him; and theſe five officers who came with me out of Fife, ſtucke ſtill cloſe to me. All of them haveing intelligence that there was 200 paire of piſtolls in a houſe of Kircaldie, they had ſome thoughts of goeing thither to make a purchaſe of them. When they had communicated the matter to me, I fullie perſuaded them to give it the hazard. On our ſecond days march, we came to ane ale-houſe in Glendeven, where they conferd the command of the partie on me. There being good ale there, I cauſd them all drinke luſtilie, and payd for the breuvage, a thing not uſuall at that time in theſe parts. Haveing given the word and ſigne, I march before with my five officers,

and my ſervant, inverting the ordinare cuſtome of *enfans perdus*, or forlorne hopes, and orderd Menyies to follow at a litle diſtance with the reſt. It was touards the evening, and I had not rode a full mile, when I diſcoverd a partie of above threttie well mounted men of the enemie, Scots and Engliſh. By providence I had on both my hands tuo litle riſeing hills, betweene which I tooke my place with my officers, the enemie being below me in no good rideing ground. I reſolvd to reſſave his charge; bot I ſent my ſervant immediatlie to Menyies, commanding him to gallop up with his partie, and to cauſe his trumpet ſound a charge all the way. The enemie and I had trifled away the time with inquireing for whom we were, thogh both of us knew we were not one for ane other. At length, when I heard our trumpet, I bid one of my officers tell we were for God and King Charles, and cryd aloud myſelfe, that Engliſh ſould have quarter, bot Scots none; and ſo charged. On our ſide no piſtoll was diſcharged bot mine, all the reſt being unfixed; on the other, one carabine and a piſtoll, which laſt was ſhot at me. The enemie runne baſelie, and my partie purſud eagerlie, Menyeis being a man ſtout enough and well mounted. After we had purſued by the helpe of the moone about a mile and a halfe, I cauſd ſound a retreate. Sixe of the enemie were kild, and foure taken; to one wherof, Jonſton, a Scot, bot borne in Ireland, I had given quarter, Menyeis unworthilie kild in cold blood. He cravd me pardon for it; I deſird him to beg Gods pardon for ſo unchriſtian ane action, and ſo paſd it, becauſe I durſt not challenge it. The miſchiefe was, he made his peace ſhortlie after with the Engliſh governour of Sainct Jonſton, and ſuore to him that he had killd that poore man by my order, haveing ſaid no Scot ſould have quarter; for which the Engliſh

vowd to cut me in peeces where ever they found me. That night, we refreſhd in the wood of Kincairden; neither did I thinke it at all fitting for my partie to purſue their deſigne of Kircaldie, or me my intention to get into Fife. I was that night diveſted of my command; neither could I by any intreatie move Menyies to march quicklie to the hills, knouing theſe of Falkland and Brunt Iland wold be quicklie after us, and theſe of St Jonſton might be before us. The truth is, he had a localitie therabout, and looking more after money than men from the countrey people, he protracted the time ſo long as the Engliſh gave us the chaſe. Menyies wold have beene at killing the other three priſoners, whom partlie with intreatie, and partlie with horrible threatnings of ane after revenge, I ſaved; they crying ſtill to me to keepe parole to them, and had learnd well enough, thogh againſt my will, both my name and charge.

After this, I ſhifted myſelfe from theſe plundering fellows, and having put away both my horſes and my arms, except one ſhort ſword, I reſolvd to get into Fife all alone, ſending my ſervant away a foot clothd as a countrey fellow. The firſt night I was kindlie entertaind at ſupper by my Ladie Breko and her ſonne. He went to take up his bed, as he uſed, in the mos; and I went on in my travells with a guide. The ſecond night, the moone being eclipſed, I never in all my life felt or ſaw ſo ſad and ſo heavie a raine, nor ſo palpable a darke night, thogh in the midſt of Auguſt. My poore guide, who was honneſt enough, miſtakeing his way, as it was no wonder, brought me in a moſſe, in which he, my horſe and I were well neere dround. After much tumbling, we got out; bot he, who at beſt was ſcarſe halfe witted, grew allmoſt diſtracted with feare, not apprehending the true reaſon

of ſo great a darknes and raine. My feare was, that his feare ſould make him diſert me, and therfor I comforted him, ever and anone putting a ſhilling in his hand, and promiſeing him greater matters. My confidence brought him a litle to himſelfe; bot I was glad when I movd him to laugh, by telling him that he needed not feare the white collor of my horſe, which, when I met with him, he ſaid wold make me diſcernable in the night time; "for," ſaid I, "the moſſe hath made him, you and me ſo blacke, that we may paſſe for blackamores." The poore fellow brought me at length to ane honneſt mans houſe, and there he left me, after I had, to his oune thinking, overrewarded him for his nights ſad turmoile. This honneſt man brought me, a litle before day, to a friends houſe, where I deſird to be. There I repoſd tuo days; and after ten days longer ſojourning with ſome others, I got to Enſter, where I found ane honneſt ſkipper bound for Oſtend. After I had lurkd foure days at ane honneſt mans houſe in that litle toune, I embarkd, and with a faire wind in three days time arrivd at Oſtend; being as glad to get out of Scotland as I was three years before to get out of England.

After I had viewd that strong place, famous for the three yeares ſiege it ſtood out againſt the Archduke Albert, I went by Bruges and the Sluce of Flanders to Vluſhing, and from thence to Travere, where I was informed by that loyall gentleman, Sir Patrik Drummond, that the King had beene, with his ſiſter the Princeſſe Royall, at the Spaw waters, and was then at Aken, the firſt and antienteſt Imperiall toune of Germanie, the ordinarie reſidence of Charles the Great, and famous for its hote bathes; the citie and many places about it, ſtanding above immeaſurable, and almoſt incredible ſubterraneous ſulphu-

reous hote waters, wherby many infirm, lame and diſeaſed perſons are cured. I went by Dort to Gorcum, from thence to the Buſch. There I took waggon, and paſſed through the land of Liege to Maſtricht. From that ſtrong toune my nixt days journey was to Aken, paying money all the way to the Spaniſh ſojors for my life. I arrivd there the 20th day of September, and reſted that night.

Nixt day I addreſſd myſelfe to the Vicount of Neuburgh, who was very loth to beleeve the bad news I told him. Houever he brought me to the King, to whom, after I had kiſd his hand, I ſhew that the loſſe of men at Lochgarie was not at all conſiderable; yet, for all that, the condition of his affaires in that countrey was bot bad, if the troopers diſbanding and diſcontent of ſome of the Lords were rightlie conſiderd. The laſt of theſe tuo ſeemd ſtrange to him, as haveing heard nothing of it before; bot I offerd to make it appear to him by my Lord Glencairns oune letter. His Majeſtie ſeemd to be well ſatiſfied with my freedome, and orderd me to bring the letter to him after dinner, which I did; bot feareing he wold keepe it, I tooke a perfite copie of it, which I have yet by me. I was admitted to the bedchamber, and none elſe bot my Lord Neuburgh. So ſoone as the King lookd upon the letter, he ſaid it was all my Lord Glencairns oune hand. Many diſcourſes he had with me; he ſaid he wold ſhortlie ſend armes and amunition to his Generall; he commanded me to waite on my Lord Neuburgh and Chancellour Hide nixt day, and give them ane exact and particular account of all I knew concerning his affaires in Scotland. He told me withall, he wold keepe Glencairns letter, thogh written to me. I told his Majeſtie, the letter was in the right hand, he being moſt concerned in it; and ſo I was diſmiſd.

Nixt day in the afternoone, I met the Chanclor and Vicount Neuburgh at a convent of Franciſcan fryars, and gave them that account the King had commanded me to doe. I found it was good for me I had Glencairns letter to produce, a copie wherof, and of mine to his Lordſhip, I gave the Chancellor to reade; for without them, theſe tuo were apt enough to queſtion the truth of that part of my relation, concerning the miſunderſtanding betueene the Generall and Glencairne. They wold have it to be onlie betueene that Lord and Sir George Monro. I told them that indeed it beganne betueene theſe tuo, bot did not end there. The Chanclor then aſkd me, if I wold not goe where the King thought fit to ſend me. I replyd, at the Kings command I wold goe to Japan. He merrilie anſuered, Japan wold be out of my way. I told him it could not be out of my way if the King ſent me there. Bot perceiveing his deſigne was to ſend me back to Scotland with letters, I ſaid I was readie to go, bot it was fit to let his Majeſtie know before hand, I was a very improper perſon to employ in ane accommodation of tuo perſons, to neither of which I was acceptable; for Middletone had ſhoune how ſmall reſpect he had for me in ſeverall particulars, which I wolde forbeare to ſpeake of. Glencairne, and the other Lords, wold looke on me as a ſojor, and ſo one of thoſe who they thought had cabald together to ſuppreſſe the nobilitie. This was no excuſe, bot a certaine and reall truth. After this free language, I was no more deſird to goe to the Highlands. A choyce was made of Colonell Borthwick, to carry the Kings pleaſure and letters to his Generall, Glencairne and the other Lords. Bot his negociation did the King litle good, and proved exceedinglie miſfortunate to himſelfe, as his foure yeares impriſonment at Bruges can too well teſtifie.

I ſtayd a month in that toune, partlie to ſee my old acquaintances, whom I knew not when I ſould ſee againe; partlie to cure myſelf of a diſeaſe which is epidemicall allmoſt in the place from whence I brought it, the Hielands; I meane the ich or ſcab, the hote bathes of of that citie being excellent for it. Then I got his Majeſties paſſe to goe to Bremen, bot not to leave his ſervice. Haveing kiſd his and the Princeſſe Royalls hands, and taken my leave at Court, I left Aken the very ſame day. His Majeſtie went to Collen, and went backe to Maſtricht, with Colonell Borthwick, and George Arnot, at that time page to his Majeſtie. From thence we went doune the river Maſe by boate, to Rurmond and Venlo, and ſo to Gennep houſe. There we tooke waggon and went to Nimmeghen, where, after a nights ſtay together, we parted. I croſd the River of Wall, and by land went to Utrecht, and from thence to Roterdame. I ſtaid ſome time in Holland, and went to the Hag, to give the Queene of Bohemia ane account of my ſummers expedition; and I found it fit to doe ſo; for a report had come to her eares, that in my diſcourſes at Aken I had reflected on Generall Middletone; and ſhe being a Princeſſe who had a kindnes for all Scotſmen, did not love to heare that we ſould doe one ane other any bad office.

It was now winter, and in the midſt of November, when I beganne my journey from Amſterdame to Bremen. I had a cold and troubleſome paſſage of it; bot God be praiſd arrivd ſafelie there in ten days time. There I had the comfort to find my ſueet wife in good health, haveing myſelfe paſſd the yeare 1654 with as much trouble and anxietie of mind, fatigue of bodie, and danger both at land and ſea, as any yeare I ever paſd in my life. A litle before I went to Scotland, the citie of Bremen had commenced a warre with Count Konighſmark the

Suediſh generall in theſe parts, and had continued it whill I was in Scotland, with varieous ſucceſſe; bot at the long runne, they were forcd, ſhortlie after my returne, to accept of a diſadvantageous peace, after a very chargeable warre. In it they ſurpriſd a ſconce called Burg, which the Sueds had taken from them, where Colonell Forbes my thrice noble friend was killd. He was brother to the Lord Forbes, Governour of Stade, a gentleman of much honor, gallantrie and integritie.

I had time enough to reſt myſelfe the whole nixt yeare, 1655. It was then that Charles Guſtave king of Sueden, broke the peace with Pole, ſixe yeares before the expiration of it, and invaded that kingdome with a prodigieous ſucceſſe. A paſſe was ſent me by one of his Field Marſhalls, Count Wittemberg, at the ſolicitation of ſome of my friends, and ane invitation to come to him, who then had enterd Polonia Major. Bot I knew how diſpleaſing it wold be to the King, that any profeſſing loyaltie to him, ſould ſerve a prince who had allied himſelfe ſo ſtrictlie with Cromwell. I excuſd myſelfe for not goeing, bot keepd the paſſe, which yet I have by me. In the ſummer 1655, Generall Dalyell came over to Bremen from Scotland in a diſguiſe. He told me Lieutenant Generall Drummond was gone to Holland, and that all being loſd in Scotland, Generall Middletone would ſhortlie be with the King; and ſo he was, and whill he was at Court, ſeverall letters paſt betueene him and me. After Dalyell had ſtayd three or foure days with me, he went with the poſte to Amſterdame; neither did I ſee him againe, till his returne from Moſcovia, which was not till ten yeares after.

Nixt harveſt, my wife, intending for Scotland, went a boord of a ſhip, and was full ſeven Dutch leagues on her way from Bremen, when the wind proveing contrarie, by Gods good providence, I alterd my re-

ſolution, and went doune the river of the Weſer, and brought her backe, that I might enjoy her company the enſuing winter. This was a great mercy; for that ſhip wherein ſhe was to goe, after fixe weeks tempeſtuous toſſing at ſea, was glade to get backe to the river, pitifullie ſpoyld, and three of her men dead. Not long after, a very heavie and grievous concatenation of diſeaſes ſeazed on my wife, which keepd her ſeven full months; and indeed I had reaſon to feare the worſt; bot by the goodnes of God ſhe was at length reſtored to health, to my exceeding great joy. In the nixt Spring of the yeare 1656, we found there was a neceſſitie for me to looke ſomewhere for a ſubſiſtence, and ſo for us to part for a time. This was a griefe to us both; bot it was our duetie to ſubmit to Gods good pleaſure. We reſolvd therfor to goe firſt to Holland, and advice there further; and accordinglie came by ſea to Amſterdame, in the beginning of May.

There I found Generall Middletone, who the yeare before had beene gracieouſlie reſſaved by the King at Collen. He was then comd to Holland about ſome affaires. A little before my arriveall, Dalyell and Drummond had ſhipd for Riga, in order to their journey to Muſco. I found the Generall civill enough to me, and after ſome faire expoſtulations on both parts, we were, as I thought, very good friends. The King keepd then his court at Bruges. A kind of league betueene him and the King of Spaine (who had enterd in a mortall warre with the Uſurper) being clapd up, many great things were promiſd by the Spaniard, few of them performed; yet under him, the king and all his followers had ſhelter. Thither Middletone went, and I promiſd to follow very ſoone after.

Finding no paſſage from Amſterdame to Scotland, I tooke my wife

from thence to Roterdame; and after a months ſtay there, and the Haag, I found a good veſſell bound for Leith, and in it my wife embarked. William Bruce, now Sir William, and Baronet and Cleark of the Bills, was likewiſe a paſſenger; at which I was glad, knouing he wold doe my wife all the good offices he could. I went with her below the Briell, where with a very ſad heart I tooke my leave of her; finding then how ſenſible and touching a ſorrow it is, to part with a beloved yoakefellow. I thought this ſeparation of mine from her did too neare reſemble death; for I had no viſible ground for any hope to ſee her againe; I not being permitted to come to the countrey whither ſhe was goeing, and there being bot ſmall probabilitie that I could expect any fortune ſo ſoone as might invite her to come and take a ſhare of it. Bot

Aſtra regunt homines, ſed regit aſtra Deus:
The ſtarres above governeth men below,
Bot the Allmightie rules the ſtarres, we know.

We put our truſt in God, and He, who never deſerted theſe who put their confidence in him, did not diſappoint us. She landed ſafelie, notwithſtanding of a ſtorme, and a great many Spaniſh capers at ſea. I had provided my wife, on all hazards, with his Majeſties paſſe, which ſerved well enough againſt the Spaniards.

I haſted to Bruges, where having kiſd the King and Duke of Glocеſters hands, (for the Duke of Yorke was not yet comd from France, thogh dailie expected,) I found the deſigne to ſend Generall Middletone to Dantzick and Pole very farre advanced; and in the beginning of October his diſpatches were readie. Great ſoumes were promiſed to be

ſent to him from Bruxells, for leavieing ane armie there. The King of Poles affection to our King, in hatred to Cromwell, was not to be doubted; bot aſſiſtance of moneys from Scotch merchands in Pole, was bot a ſpeculation. It could not in reaſon be lookd for, after they had beene ſo well fleecd foure or five yeares before, by Maſter Crofts now Lord Crofts. I was appointed to attend the Generall thither; who tooke alſo along with him his brother in law Colonell Durhame.

Before we went from Flanders, the King, by permiſſion of Don Juan of Auſtria, raiſd three regiments, one of Engliſh, under the Earle of Rocheſter, formerlie Lord Wilmot; the ſecond of Scots, under Generall Middletone; the third of Iriſh, under Ormond. Two more were added after, and all were put under the command of his Royall Hienes the Duke of Yorke. All the Captaines were to be Lords, Knights or Colonells; at leaſt ſixteene Captaines were ordered to be of the Scots, wherof I was one. Bot being commanded away with the Generall, I never ſaw my companie, nor reapd benefite by it, except a hundredth and fiftie guldens.

A little money was advanced to the Generall at Court, which was all well neere ſpent before we got out of Amſterdame. We ſtayd ſo long there that my Lord Neuburgh was ſent to haſte us away. Sir William Davidſone, now Conſervator, agreed with a veſſell to tranſport us. It was loaden with Reniſh and French wines. He put in alſo aboundance of proviſions for our voyage; and ſo on the tuelfth of November we embarkd, and were a full month at ſea in very cold weather, before we got to Elſennure. Five days did ſcarclie bring us from it to Coppenhagen, thogh it be bot five Dutch leagues; and there we were frozen in till the midſt of Januare. The Generall livd in that

place incognito, which the Spaniſh Embaſſador tooke not very well. A thaw comeing on, in three days time we landed at the Mund, a very ſtrong place in the mouth of the Weichſell, a German league from Dantzick. There we found the Suediſh Generall Konighſmark cloſe priſoner, who had beene taken at ſea, not without ſuſpition of foule play of ſome of our countreymen under his command. At Dantzick, ſome of the Scots merchands, eſpeciallie Maſters Dumbar and Gallenden, made us wellcome. Numbers of my Lord Cranſtouns regiment came over to us, whom we too ſoone entertaind, haveing libertie from the Magiſtrats, (who wellcomd and entertaind the Generall with all imaginable civilitie,) to levie privatlie. Seven days before our arriveall, the King of Pole, to our great grief, was gone from Dantzick, where he had winterd three months. The Generall ſent his Majeſties letter to the King of Pole, by a convoy which was goeing to him. The great Chancellor of Pole wrote to the Generall, and invited him to come to his Maſter, where he aſſurd him he ſould be very wellcome; the letter was in Latine. A faire occaſion was offerd us of a convoy of five hundreth foot that were to march to the King; bot the Generall wanting money, we were forced to ſtay. He wrote ſome formall excuſes to the Chancellor. I was deſird to pen the letter in Latine, (for I was all the ſecretarie he had both for that and the Hie Dutch languages,) and it was ſhoune to tuo Polonian ſenators, before it was ſent away.

No money being ſent from Flanders, and the Generalls and mine being exhauſted, we borroued from the Magiſtrats, and private perſons alſo, more than is yet well payd. That being ſpent alſo, we were forcd to diſband our ſojors, and recommend them to a German Baron, who was levieing for the King of Denmark. Not long after that we were ne-

ceſſitated to leave the inne where we lodged, and take up houſes apart, where we keepd bot a very ſorrie menage. Our credite was gone, our moneys were ſpent, and all we had except our wearing clothes was impauned; and in that pitifull condition, we breathd rather than livd three months. Many conſolotarie letters were writ to the Generall from the Court, bot becauſe in ſome of his he had expoſtulated a little for his bad uſage, a countreyman of mine did me the good office to informe Chancellor Hide, that I had ſtird up the Generall to be diſſatiſfied with the whole Court. This was moſt malitieouſlie done; for I could not have beene ſo wicked as to blame any about the King for our wants, in regard the Spaniſh miniſters not keeping promiſe to the King, it was impoſſible for him to ſupply us. Middletone endeavord to keepe me from knouing this; bot not haveing ſhoune me the laſt poſtes letters, a thing he did not uſe, I began to ſuſpect there was ſomething in the wind, and I handled the matter ſo with Durhame, that I got it out of him; which the Generall knouing, he gave me the letter to reade. I told him I wold write to the Chancellor; and beſeechd him, by his letter, to vindicate me of a crime, he knew beſt of any man, I was never guiltie of. He promiſd to doe it fullie, and was as good as his word. I wrote to the Chancellor, a letter faire enough, yet ſo tart, that he might ſoone know, I was ſenſible enough of the injurie was done me; to which letter of mine I reſſaved a very faire anſuere, when I was at Coppenhagen; and in effect, finding himſelfe abuſd by his informer, he aſkd me pardon; for ſuch are the very words of his letter. After that, I gave him a weeklie account of all the occurrences of Denmark.

After this paſſage, I repreſented to the Generall, how uſeles I was to

him, being all hopes of doeing that we came for, were evaniſhd, and what time I loſd, being the moſt of Chriſtendome were in action; I therfor defird him to permit me to goe and offer my ſervice to the King of Denmark. This he granted me, and gave me a very ample teſtimonie of my faithfullnes and diligence, which I have yet a keeping. About this time, Sir William Davidſone had advanced me fiftie dollars, a perſon who owd me tuentie haveing payd me them, and old Mr Gallenden lending me tuentie more, (which ſixe weekes after I honneſtlie repayd,) I found myſelfe in a condition to ſupply ſome wants at Dantzick, and make my voyage to the Sound. I tooke my leave of the foure burgomaſters, to all of whom I was very particularlie obliged; bot I told them I was goeing to Flanders, for further directions to the Generall from his Majeſtie. The Generall diſmiſd me with exceeding great kindnes, and many embraces; and being convoyd to the Mund, by Colonell Durhame, I embarkd for Denmark. Sixe days ſtorme I ſtood out, and on the ſeventh, haveing a good wind, I landed towards the evening at Elſennure. There I learnd from the poſtmaſter, who was a Scotſman, the condition of Daniſh affaires, which was bot bad. I knew before I left Dantzick that the King of Sueden had forſaken Pole, and left Ragoſki, the Tranſilvanian Prince, to his future fortune, and was on his march thorough Caſſubbia, Pomerania, Meclenburg, and the territories of Lubeck; and by that time that I came to Denmark, he had got into Holſtein, where, of ane armie of Danes, conſiſting of ſixteene thouſand men, not one facd him the whole way; the Sueds, in deriſion of the Danes couardiſe, hanging out lanternes over the ſteeples of all the villages, to know if therby they might ſee any to oppoſe them, ſince with daylight they could ſee none. To

Coppenhagen I went, where I was made wellcome by the Count of Ribelledo, the Spaniſh Embaſſador at that Court, and by him recommended to the Great Stewart, the ſecond perſon of that kingdome. Bot he haveing gone at that time with the King to Jutland, where both his oune and the enemies forces were, I was forcd to travell the whole length of the Ile of Zeland, the greateſt of that kingdome; to croſse the great Belt, a river foure Germane miles broad, which gives the name to the Baltick Sea, and to goe into Funen, where tuo yeares after, the Dane, with the helpe of the Hollander, gave the Sueds a totall defeate; and at Odenſee, the principall toune of that Ile, I found the Court. This Great Stewart, or Grand Maiſtre, as the French call him, or Reichs Hofmeiſter, as the Germans name him, made me wellcome, and recommended me to the Secretarie of Eſtate for Denmark, (for there is ane other for Holſtein,) with whom I guided the matter ſo well, that at the Kings returne to Coppenhagen, I was brought to his preſence. I kiſd his hand without kneeling, and offerd him my humble and faithfull ſervice againſt all his enemies. His Majeſtie reſſavd my compliment gracieouſlie, and bad me expect my anſuere from his Secretarie of Eſtate, whoſe name was Erich, or Henrie Krag. At this time, the Embaſſadors of all Chriſtendome were at that Court; the Imperiall, Spaniſh, Brandenburger, Polonian, and Muſcoviter, ſolliciting a vigorous proſecution of the warre againſt their common enemie; the Sued, the French, Engliſh and Hollander, mediating ane accommodation.

Tuo months after my comeing, about the end of October of the yeare 1657, Ulefeld, a Daniſh Generall in Skonen, being killd, Henrie Lindanaw, one of the Nobleſſe in that province, was deſignd to ſucceed him. To him I was ſent, with the Kings order to have a free ſquadron of

dragoones, and to be Adjutant Generall of his armie. I had the Kings paſſe for free quarter and wagons. Takeing ſome Scotch officers along with me, and arriveing at Chriſtianſtat, (a ſkirvie litle toune, bot exceedinglie well fortified,) where Lindanaw was governour, I deliverd him the Kings letter. He orderd a double centrie to be put to the doore of the inne where I lodged, and cauſd his toune major give me the word. Nixt day he invited me to dinner; and after he had well entertaind me with boules of wine, according to the cuſtome of that countrey, he tooke me aſide, and ſerieouſlie aſkd me, if I thought that theſe at Court who ſat at the helme of affaires were all in their right wits. I told him it was ſo ſtrange a queſtion, that, if I offerd to anſuer it, he might trulie ſay, I were out of mine. He ſaid, if they had been ſo wiſe as they pretended to be, they wold never have offerd to give him a commiſſion to be a Generall, who had never had a hier charge then that of a Ritmaſter, and this he wold ſhortlie declare to the King himſelfe, as indeed he did. He gave me notwithſtanding free quarters to theſe officers I had brought with me, and keepd them with him, and ſo diſmiſd me with much kindnes.

At my returne to Zeland, I met with Major Generall Montgomerie at Elſennure, who had brought recommendatorie letters from our King, and the Queene of Bohemia, to the King of Denmark. He was gracieouſlie reſſavd, and the levieing a regiment of foot offerd to him; which he refuſd, his deſire being to command a regiment of horſe. I tooke my leave of him there; he recommended to me tuo of his followers, both Montgomeries, whom I ſhortlie after got accommoded in a troope; and ſo the Major Generall ſhipd for Holland, and I returnd to Copenhagen.

At my comeing, the Secretarie of Eſtate told me, that he had learnd from Lindanaw himſelfe, how needles a journey I had made to Skonen; bot ſaid withall, that the King intended to give me the levieing of a foot regiment, for the ſcene of affaires was alterd in my abſence. The Sueds had by ſtorme made themſelvs maſters of Fredericks Ode, a ſtrong place in Jutland, where they killd and tooke sixe thouſand Danes, the reliques of the Holſtein armie; and with them was taken the Fieldmarſhall himſelfe, very ſore wounded, wherof he dyed a few days after; yet neither his wounds nor his death were able to wipe away the aſperſion was caſt on him of treaſon. In that toune, the Danes loſt above a hundreth braſſe canons, and a conſiderable magazine of amunition and victualls. This conſiderable loſſe, and the evill neighbourhood of ſo ſturring ane enemie, wakend the Daniſh King and his councel out of their dreame. They finding they had bot litle reaſon to truſt the natives, farre degenerated from the vigour and courage of the antient Danes, reſolved to levie ſtrangers. To that effect, ſixe commiſſions were given out for levieing ſixe foot regiments, each of a thouſand men, wherof the King beſtowd one upon me. I knew well enough how difficult a thing it was to leavie men at that time; bot perceaveing I could not in reaſon looke for any other employment, I accepted the commiſſion. Bot intending to raiſe the halfe of my regiment in Dantzick, I wold only reſſave the halfe of my levie moneys in Holland, then which I never committed ane act of hier follie. Thretteen dollars for each ſojor were allowd us, for levie armes and tranſportation. His Majeſtie cauſd give me a hundreth and fifty duckats, to defray my charges the time of my attendance, not to be reckond in my levie money, which I was to reſſave at Amſterdame. It did not

pay the halfe of my expence; yet it was a gratuitie to which he was not obliged, and therfor reſſavd by me with all thankfull acknouledgement. Haveing courted the Secretarie of Eſtate, as a man of his qualitie ſould be, I kiſſd the Kings hand, and tooke my leave of the Great Maſter and Treaſorer, who were my noble friends; then I went to Ribelledo, the King of Spaines Embaſſador, and returned him my humble thankes for his civilities. I left him in a bad condition; for he was ſo plagud with ane univerſall gout, that, as he told me himſelfe, he could ſturre no member of his bodie bot tuo, that was his eye and his tongue. I tooke my leave of tuo Jeſuits who attended him, who were my good friends, wittie men, and jollie companions. I embarkd at Elſennure in the midſt of December, in a veſſell bound for Harking in Freiſland. A very cold paſſage I had, bot not very ſtormie; and in ten days time I landed at the Uly. From thence I had ſome difficultie, becauſe of the ice, to get up to Amſterdame.

Letters of recommendation were offered me from the King to the Daniſh Court, bot I refuſd them, not out of vanitie, bot out of pure loyaltie; for I ſaw Sir Philip Medows, Cromwells pretended Embaſſador, reſſavd at Coppenhagen with ſo much ſtate and magnificence, (which ſhows that England muſt be courted, be maſter of it who will,) that I had juſt reaſon to feare his Majeſties letters ſould have beene bot litle regarded. From Amſterdam I went ſtraight to the Haag, where I ſhew my commiſſion, capitulation, and orders to Monſieur Roſemving, the Daniſh Embaſſador with the Generall Eſtates, and with ſome difficultie I procurd from him the halfe of my levie moneys. I capitulated with a Major and three Captaines, and gave them commiſſions; but I gave them onlie a third part of my levie money. Whill

all of us are buſie ſetting forward the affaire wherwith we were intruſted, behold, the King of Sueden, in Februarie 1658, paſſeth his whole armie, horſe and foot, over the Belt that ſeparateth Funen from Jutland. The ice was ſo ſtrong on the whole Baltick coaſt that winter, and continued ſo long, that on the 19th day of March theraf-ter, the ſame King of Sueden carried his whole armie and his great guns over the Sound, over againſt Malmey in to Skonen, on the ice. Being in Funen, he beats the Daniſh armie there, with very litle oppoſition. He purſues his victorie, paſſeth over the Ile of Langland, from thence to Laland, and at laſt to Zeland, the ice ſerving him for a bridge all the way. There did the Engliſh and Holland Embaſſadors meet him, who knouing their maſters wold not willinglie ſee Charles Guſtave maſter of the Sound, partlie by entreaties and remonſtrances, partlie by threatnings, movd the victorious King to grant peace to the Dane; who bought it by a perpetuall reſignation of the faire province of Skonen or Scandia, the Ile of Borholme, the ſtrong caſtle of Bahouſe, and ſome other places. Aſſuredlie the King of Sueden repented himſelfe afterwards that he did not march ſtraight to Coppenhagen, wherof at that time he could have made himſelfe quicklie maſter; where he might, without ſtroake of ſuord, have got all the magazines of the kingdome, the whole fleet, which was frozen in, and the King with his Queene and whole familie, if they had not fled over the ice to Skonen, and ſo to Norway. Bot God had determind otherwiſe.

The Eſtates of the United Provinces were very angrie with the King of Denmark for makeing that peace, which pure neceſſitie had forcd him to, without their conſent, and therfor they diſcharge our leavies under paine of death, arreſts our ſhips, ſets our men aſhoare, and give-

ing each of them halfe a dollar, bad them goe where they pleaſed. Such a miſerable end had that miſfortunate leavie of ours! Aſſuredlie in this the Eſtates did the Daniſh King a very ſhreud office; for if they had ſufferd us to finiſh our leavie, we had carried over 6000 men to Denmark, which undoubtedlie had moved the Sued to quit his reſolution of invadeing that kingdome, as nixt ſummer he did; for this martiall King falls with a ſtrong armie before Lambes in Zeland, and at one time beſeegeth Elſennure and Coppenhagen. The firſt, after a ſtout reſiſtance, he takes by accord; from the other he is beaten with ane exceeding great loſſe. The Hollanders then perceaves their error, and to make ane amends, they ſend a ſtrong fleet with their Admirall Opdam, who fights thorough the Suediſh navie in the Sound, and victualls Coppenhagen. Nixt yeare, they ſend ane other fleet with De Rutter, and 2000 foot ſojors, under the command of Colonell Killigrew, who aſſiſted the Danes pouerfullie to beate Prince Palatine Sultſbach and his Suediſh armie at Neuburg in Funen. The King of Sueden did not long outlive this miſfortune, and it is reported, that he was heard ſay frequentlie on his death bed, "Funen, Funen, tu m'as tué;" Funen, Funen, thou haſt kild me! So dyed Charles Guſtave, who in the ſhort time of his raigne had beene the Boutefew and Incendiarie of Chriſtendome, haveing kindled the flame of warre in a great many parts of it.

Then it was that I found how fooliſh I had beene in takeing bot the halfe of my levie money; for my comerads, the other Colonells, who had got all theirs, were never brought to any account at all. It is true, I demanded it from Roſenwing, and he refuſeing to pay it, I proteſted the Kings capitulation with me was broke and violated. We

were entering in a ſute of law, bot comeing to tearmes of agreement, we gave it over; and I requiring my paſſe from the King, tuo were ſent me in haſte, one in Daniſh, the other in Hie Dutch. In the beginning of the yeare 1658, I defird my wife once more to croſſe the ſeas, and come out of Scotland to Holland; which ſhe readilie doeing, we met happilie, praiſe be to God for it, at Roterdame, and therafter livd tuo yeares together at the Haag with much content.

Generall Middletone ſtayd all that winter, after I left him, at Dantzick. Nixt ſpring as much money was ſent him as the King could well ſpare, wherwith he payd ſome of his moſt preſſing creditors (for all his debts he could not pay), and bought ſome horſes, and accompanied with Major Murrey, brother to Pomais, and one ſervant, he travelld thorough ſeverall places of Germanie, and viſiting the tuo Electors of Brandeburg and Saxonie, at their oune Courts, he came to our maſter the King, at Bruxells, where he was gracieouſlie reſſaved. He was pleaſd to write to me ſo ſoon as he came. In the harveſt therafter he left the King, upon what occaſion I know not, and went to Amſterdame; there he ſtayd all the nixt winter. About that time, his Scottiſh regiment was given to the Vicount of Neuburgh, Don Juan haveing commanded, that none ſould have charge bot theſe who attended it. My companie in that regiment had beene given away, long before that, by the Duke of Yorke, without any injurie to me; for I could not both attend a companie in Flanders, and a regiment in Denmark. In the ſummer followiug of the yeare 1659, Middletone is recalld to Court, many great riſeings of the Royall partie in England haveing beene projected, with greate hopes of ſucceſſe. Bot the time which God had appointed to finiſh ſoe great a worke not being comd,

they were all blaſted; and Sir George Booths partie, which was the moſt conſiderable, being beaten by Lambert, the King with a ſmall traine went to Bayonne, to attend in perſon the iſſue of the greate treatie of peace betueene France and Spaine, which that yeare was concluded. The tuo great Miniſters of State, Cardinall Mazarini and Lowis de Haro, meeting in the Ile of Pheſants, to caſt that great affaire in a right mould, and therafter at the ſtatlie enterview of the tuo Potentates themſelvs, a full concluſion was made, and the peace ratified, by the conſummation of a marrieage betueene the King of France and the King of Spaines daughter. Bot obſerve, that what ſould have cemented the agreement betueene theſe tuo crounes tuo yeares agoe, did diſſolve it; the French King, to vindicate the Queenes right, invadeing the Spaniſh Netherlands; to ſo litle uſe ſervs humane prudence and policie, when a bleſſing from Heaven is denyd to it. Nothing was done for our King at that treatie; which made him returne to Bruxells, where he found greater grounds of hopes from his own ſubjects, then he had reaſon to expect from ſtrangers.

A kind of a warre haveing beene begunne betueene Monck and Lambert, the loyall Lords of Scotland deſird Mr Bruce, now Earle of Kincarden, to goe in their names to the King, (ſince he was to goe to his wife in Holland houſoever), to repreſent to him their loyaltie, to deſire his aſſiſtance of armes, bot above all, to intreate his Majeſtie to impart his royall commands to them, how they ſould demeane themſelvs in ſo great a concerne and exigent. And if they did not in plaine tearmes deſire it, yet their expreſſions ſeemd to import, that they wiſhd his Majeſtie wold be pleaſd to name ſome other Generall for them then Middletone. Maſter Bruce told the Lords, he could not agent their

bufienes openlie at Court, without running a vifible hazard to looſe his eſtate in Scotland, which was conſiderable; bot with their permiſſion wold imploy me, who he conceavd was faithfull, and had nothing to looſe at home. They were ſatiſfied with his choyce, and after he was comd to the Haag, he broke the matter to me, and found me readie enough to goe about the bufienes, bot very ſhie to propone any thing to Middletons prejudice. My wife fell ſicke in the meane time; bot being told by a doctor that there was no danger, (which yet did prove otherwiſe) I went to Bruxells and deliverd Mr Bruce his credentialls to the King and Chanclor Hide, who was then Lord Chanclor of England. I found the King well enough ſatiſfied with all the defires of the Scottiſh Lords, except that of a new Generall. He ſpoke long to me on that ſubject. I offerd in their name to aſſure his Majeſtie, that ſince he had a mind to continue him in his commiſſion, none wold oppoſe him. Meane while the King prepares privatlie for Breda, and commanded me to goe before him there, and attend him. There he came within three days after, and made wellcome by his ſiſter, the Princeſſe Royall, and his nephew, the Prince of Orange. It was there where I ſpoke at full length with my Lord Chanclor concerning Scottiſh affaires; who told me many ſtories, and gave me full aſſureances of his affection to all Scotſmen, whatever had beene ſaid of him to the contrare, and of his particular kindnes to myſelfe; bot withall complaind of the unfaithfullnes and falſhood of ſome of my countreymen, as I have touched before. I told his Lordſhip I wold not ſtay a minute longer, unles I knew the King wold approve of my ſtay at Court, in order to my inſtructions. He ſaid, he was confident the King wold approve of my negotiation, and that his Majeſtie had much truſt for

me ; bot could not wonder enough, what prejudice the Scottiſh Lords had againſt Middletone. Nixt day the King calld me, and told me full as much as my Lord Chancellor had ſaid, and wrote much of it to the Earle of Glencairden in a letter, which he commanded him to communicate to the reſt of the loyall Lords.

Bot there was litle need of any agenting any thing at Court, or of a new Generall for the Scots, or yet of armes to be ſent to Scotland ; for the Kings reſtoration, and the means tending to it, were carried on in ſuch a way, and ſo faſt, as himſelfe could neither wiſh nor expect the buſienes to be done better. He is proclaimd in all his three kingdomes; is complimented by the Embaſſadors of the United States at Breda ; invited to the Haag by the provinces of Holland ; is there royallie and magnificentlie wellcomd and entertaind ; is congratulated by the Embaſſadors of all the Princes of Chriſtendome who were at that Court ; his oune fleet is ſent to bring him home, with Commiſſioners from both Houſes of Parliament. He embarkes in it, and nixt day lands at Dover, and enters his capitall citie of London triumphantlie, on his birthday, where, at his Banquetting-houſe, both his Houſes made their humble Addreſſes to him. And all this was done in leſſe then tuo months time.

At my returne to the Haag, I found my wife bot weaklie recoverd of a heavie ſickenes ; and that obligd me to ſtay in Holland with her, till it pleaſd God ſhe was perfitlie well. Generall Middletone had once more fallen ſicke at Breda of a tertian, bot it was of no continuance, ſo that it hinderd him not to accept of the grace the King offerd, to take him along with him in his oune ſhip. If he did reſſent any thing was movd to the King, to put ane other in his roome, he did not well

to revenge himſelfe on me; for not only my Lord Chanclor, bot the King himſelfe cleerd me of haveing any hand in it; and if himſelfe harbourd any evill thoughts of me, he diſſembld deeplie, for he profeſd otherwiſe.

At my comeing to London, I found his pouer greater, bot his kindnes leſſe; I ſpeake this trulie, thogh I intend not to deſcend to particulars. His Majeſtie had deſignd him to be Earle, his Hie Commiſſioner at his enſueing Parliament of Scotland, Captaine Generall of his forces there, Captaine of his Caſtle of Edinburgh, Extraordinare Lord of the Seſſion, and to have a troope of horſe for his guard. No act of grace or favour conferrd on any Scot, but what paſſd either thorough his hands, or the Earle of Lauderdaills; and thogh formerlie theſe tuo had beene very intimate friends, yet then the ſeeds of jealouſies betueene them were ſoune, which brought forth fruits therafter of implacable animoſities. Ambition will have the uppermoſt roome; great Pompey will endure no equall, and greater Cæſar will acknouledge no ſuperior.

I petitiond the King to remember my faithfull, thogh ſmall ſervices His Majeſtie bad me tell, to whom I deſird he ſould have referd the conſideration of my buſienes. I namd the tuo Earles of Lauderdaill and Middletone. Lauderdaill promiſd, whatever Middletone wold project for me in Scotland, he ſould get it paſd by the King in England. It may be; and I beleeve it, he wold have beene as good as his word; bot he was never put to it; for, though, beſides all other former ſervices of my oune, my Lord Chanclor of England had, by a letter, very ſerieouſlie recommended me to Earle Middletone, yet did he never doe, act or propone any thing for me. Tuo things I projected for

myſelfe, which ſo ſoone as I told him of them, he obtaind a grant of them both to other tuo gentlemen. When I kiſd the Kings hand at my parting from Whitehall, in preſence of ſome of the greateſt men in England, (except theſe of the blood), his Majeſtie expreſd himſelfe very gracieouſlie touards me, and told me, he had orderd his Commiſſioner to provide for me. He conferd Knighthood on me, ane honor trulie never either deſervd or deſird by me.

I ſtayd in that condition till Auguſt 1662, and then it was that my Lord Commiſſioner, by his Majeſties expreſſe command, orderd Colonell Urrey and myſelfe, to raiſe each of us a companie of foot; the third the King had ordaind for my Lord Clermont, Middletons onlie ſonne; bot his father takeing on him to be his tutor, gave the companie to Major Thomſone. Shortlie after, the Duke of Lennox raiſd a companie for Dumbarton, and the Earle of Mar ane other for Stirline Caſtles. All five marchd in September to Glaſgow, where my Lord Commiſſioner comeing in his progreſſe to the weſt, he appointed the Earle of Linlithgow to be Lieutenant Colonell of his Majeſties guards of foot, and me to be Sergant Major. For what reaſon this was done, will be to litle purpoſe to tell. I had no commiſſion till, a yeare and a halfe after, the King ſent me one.

In the yeare 1663, his Majeſtie being diſpleaſd with ſome of E. Middletons doeings, appointed E. Rothes to ſucceed him, and to be his Hie Commiſſioner at the third Seſſion of Parliament, at the cloſe wherof, E. Middletons troop of horſe was caſheered. Touards the latter end of the yeare, the King tooke from him his commiſſion of Captaine Generall, which he gave to none at this time; as alſo his commiſſion of Captaine of Edinburgh Caſtle; that, he conferd on E. Lau-

derdaill; and beſtowd likewiſe his place of extraordinarie Lord of the Seſſion on the Archbiſhop of Glaſgow. And this may ſufficientlie let us ſee the lubricitie of Court favours and preferments, the mutabilitie of all ſublunar things, and the truth of that a noble French author writes, "*la montée aux proſperites, eſt de verre, la cime, tremblement, et la deſcente un precipice*;" the aſcent to proſperities, ſayth he, is of glaſſe, the top wherof trembles, and the diſcent is a precipice. It verifieth alſo, what the Italian poet, Torquato Taſſo, ſayth,

A glli voli troppo alti et repentini,
Soglino i precipitii eſſer vicini.
Sudden and hie advancements, frequentlie
By precipiteous dounfalls followd be.

Yet the King profeſſed ſtill kindnes for him, which he hath witneſſed was reall ſince, in makeing him Governour of Tanger, ane honorable command.

I ſtayd at Glaſgow, quietlie attending my charge, till the yeare 1663; and from it I beginne the narration of what has ſince befallen me.

MEMOIRS OF SIR JAMES TURNER;

PART THIRD,

CONTAINING A FULL NARRATION OF THE INSURRECTION IN SCOTLAND TOWARDS THE LATTER END OF THE YEAR 1666, AND OF HIS MISFORTUNES FOLLOWING THEREUPON, TILL THE YEAR 1670.

SIR JAMES TURNER'S MEMOIRS.

In the beginning of the yeare 1663, ane unhappie quarrell aroſe betueene the Miniſter and ſome of the people of Kirkcubright. It ſignified bot litle; bot makeing a great noyſe, the Privie Councell orderd ſome Lords to goe thither, and ſome forces with them, under the command of the Earle of Linlithgow, my Lieutenant Colonell, to examine the matter, and to impriſon ſuch as they found guiltie of the tumult. Some women were carried to Edenburgh, and keepd ſome time in the tollbooth; bot by the charitie and bountie of theſe who were of their perſuaſion, returnd richer home than they came from it. One Ewart, who had beene Provoſt, was baniſhd out of Scotland, not becauſe he had any acceſſion to the commotion, bot becauſe he did not appeaſe it. By the Kings clemencie, his Act of Baniſhment was taken of. This inconſiderable and allmoſt ridiculous tumult, made a great noyſe at Court, as if the whole Scots were readie to enter England, with a numerous armie, on the account of the Covenant; wherof ſome great perſons thought to have made their ſeverall uſes.

In the latter end of September of that ſame yeare, one Mr Alexander Robertſone, (who was afterward hangd for rebellion) ane expectant miniſter, tooke on him to open the doores of the church of Anwith,

neere that ſame toune of Kirkcubright, and preach there to a very great auditorie. Bot thogh upon ſummons he appeared at Edenburgh, yet the Privie Councell, to prevent ſuch illegall meetings, thought fit to ſend me to that ſteuartrie, with threeſcore men, to be added to the hundreth, whom my Lord Linlithgow had left there under the command of Captaine Ratray, at that time Lieutenant of my companie. Before I came, the Captaine had quarterd ſome ſojors on the moſt obſtinate oppoſers of the conforme miniſters, in the pariſhes of Corſphairne and Balmaclellan; and at my comeing, upon bonds for future obedience, the ſojors were a removeing. Neither was any fine exacted. If any ceſſe money was taken by the Captaine, or theſe he imployed, I know not, bot I am ſure it was not complaind of. At the earneſt ſollicitation of the miniſters of theſe tuo pariſhes, who were both of them exceeding weake brothers, I cauſd the bonds of their pariſhoners to be given to them, and they upon faire promiſes of the parties, very ſimplie redeliverd them; and this act of follie gave ſome ground for my returne to that unhappie countrey. At the deſire of the Biſhop of Galloway and his ſinode, I ſent threeſcore of my ſojors with Ratray to Stranraer, commonlie calld the Chappell, being the people there were very diſorderlie. After I had ſtayd till neere Candlemes of the yeare 1664, the miniſters complaining no more, I left that countrey, as I thought, in a reaſonable good way to conforme; and in Aprile nixt, the whole partie was commanded backe from Kirkcubright to Glaſgow; ane act of the Privie Councell being made to give me thankes for the ſervice I had done.

In the month of March 1665, I was the ſecond time commanded to that ſteuartrie, with a partie conſiſting of one hundreth and tuentie

foot and threttie horſe, to put the laws concerning Church ordinances in execution; the people haveing beene extreamlie outragieous to their miniſters, and diſobedient to diſcipline. I ſtayd about tuo months in that countrey, and reducd it to ane indifferent good order, by ceſſing on ſome, and by both ceſſing and fineing others, and by faire meanes prevaileing with many; ſo that moſt of the Miniſters thought, if I had beene permitted to have ſtayd longer, they might have had ſome comfort in their charges, by a tollerablie good complyance of their pariſhioners. Some money I exacted, ſparinglie, from thoſe of whoſe obedience I had hopes; bot from ſuch as the miniſters and I judged obſtinate, I tooke ſome money, and bonds for all they were found to be dulie oweing, as 20s. ſcots for everie Lords day they had abſented themſelves from their pariſh churches. The bonds were all in Maſter Keith his name, under cleark to the Privie Councell. I aſſurd the perſons who gave the bonds, that upon teſtificates from their ſeverall Miniſters, of their frequenting the church, and diſhaunting conventicles, it was probable their bonds wold be returnd to them for litle or no money at all; and this I thought fit to ſhow them at parting. After tuo months ſtay there, I was orderd to returne to Glaſgow with both horſe and foot, to be employed therafter for diſarming ſome people in the weſt; it being my fate that nothing was intended to be done, that was diſpleaſing to that countrey, bot wherin I was made inſtrumentall. Immediatlie after I arrivd at Glaſgow, I am orderd with both horſe and foot to march to Aire, Irwine and Kilmarnock, to aſſiſt the Earle of Glencairden as Sheriffe of Aire, and the Earle of Eglinton as Bailiffe of Cuninghame, for diſarming all, except theſe who were entruſted with publike charges.

When this was done, I rode ſtraight to Edenburgh, and gave the Earle of Rothes, then Lord Commiſſioner, ane account of both my negociations. I gave my Lord a paper of what moneys I had reſſaved, what I had diſburſed, and what I had by me. He ſhew the paper to the tuo Lords Archbiſhops, and a litle after, all I had done was allowd and approvd as good ſervice, and I commanded to deliver up the bonds to Maſter Keith; the ſuperplus of the money wherof I had not diſpoſed being allowd me, as I conceavd, for the charges mentioned in the paper, I had beene at, in three yeares before; as alſo for my expences in the ſteuartrie, in the yeares 1663 and 1665. The bonds I accordinglie deliverd to Mr Keith, and tooke a note of reſſait of them from him, ſigned with his hand, which yet I keepe by me. The money I retaind, which was one hundreth and fiftie pound ſterline or therabout.

Bot the people of Galloways minds being whollie eſtranged from the preſent government of the Church, and haveing beene bot terrified to ane exterior obedience, and, by reaſon of my parties ſhort ſtay, not at all ſetled, they ſoone furniſhd their miniſters with new occaſions of complaints, which were ſo loud, that they were brought quicklie to the eares of the tuo Archbiſhops; and they preſentlie acquainting my Lord Commiſſioner with the great contempt of the laws, in order to Church Government in that countrey, ſo that a reſolution was taken to ſend me the third time there, as alſo to Nithſdaill, where the people were likewiſe become diſorderlie. It was intended I ſould have gone in the beginning of Januare 1666, but ſome things occurd, to which my oune backwardnes to that journey contributed, for indeed my mind preſagd me little good, which retarded my journey till the month

of March. I had againe a hundreth and tuentie foot allowed me, and threttie horſe were appointed to follow me, for bringing in the Parliaments fines, as they were called; and indeed I very little meddled with theſe horſe, except that I quarterd ſome of them, on ſome deficients, in tuo or three pariſhes, in the months of September and October after, when I lay myſelfe at the toune of Drumfreis.

I was ſufficientlie impouerd, with orders and inſtructions from my Lord Commiſſioner, for ceſſing, quartering on and fineing perſons diſobedient to church ordinances; neither had I at all any order to cite or proceſſe formallie the contemners and diffrequenters of churches, and theſe who married and baptiſed with outed miniſters; all which perſons could not be dilated to me by the conforme miniſters, for they knew leſſe than I, which of their pariſhoners frequented conventicles. They might indeed miſſe them out of their churches, bot could not tell where they were. I was commanded to make inquirie after ſuch, and to beſtow liberallie upon intelligence, both to find them out, and the fugitive miniſters, (whom I had order to apprehend) and to find out ſuch who harbourd them, and to quarter on them, and fine them. And by this meanes, I was more able to informe the Biſhop and Miniſters of theſe diſorderlie meetings, and who were at them, than they could informe me.

In May, if I remember right, a Sinod was keeped at Kirkcubright; where to eaſe the phanaticks for ſome time of ceſſing, at my very earneſt deſire, ane Act was paſd for a bond of future obedience, to be ſubſcryved by all who had payd no fine that yeare; with promiſe that after ſigneing and obſerveing the bond, nothing ſould be demanded of them for bygone tranſgreſſions; if not, they ſould be ceſd on, not for

refuſeing to ſigne the bond, (for that was a wicked calumnie) bot for the fines they owd for former delinquencies. Many ſubſcrivd the bond, and ſo payd no fine at all; many refuſd it, and ſo by my order were quarterd on for their bygone fines. A fortnights time was allowd them to advice, and in that time I went to Glaſgow, from whence I had a call from my Lord Commiſſioner to come to Edenburgh, where I reſſaved new inſtructions. At my returne to Galloway, I ceſd on ſuch tranſgreſſors as had neither paid their fines, nor wold ſigne the bond. Bot makeing haiſt to Nidſdaill, becauſe of a letter from my Lord Commiſſioner, I exacted the fines of very few, bot cauſd them pay the ceſſe to the ſojors, promiſeing once more, if they wold yet keepe the church, they ſould pay no fine at all; if not, though I was going from them, I wold not faile to ſend horſe to quarter on them.

In July, if I miſtake not, I came to Drumfries, where I tooke the ſame courſe I had done in the ſteuartrie of Kirkcubright, and ſhire of Galloway. I dealt as favourablie as I could with theſe who were averſe from Church government. And heere I ſhall take leave, once for all, to write ane undoubted truth, which is, that I was ſo farre from exceeding or tranſgreſſing my commiſſion and inſtructions, that I never came the full length of them; ſometimes not exceeding the fixth part of the fines, ſometimes not the third, and ſeldome the halfe; and many fines I never exacted at all, ſtill upon the parties promiſes of future complyance.

In all the places where I came, the number of the deficients, and the Miniſters feares, that I ſould be calld backe before the buſienes were done, was ſo great, that I was often neceſſitated to quarter my whole partie on delinquents, and ſcarce keepe any by me, except my oune

ſervants; this may be cleare by this demonſtration, that thogh I ſtayd in that countrey full eight months, yet when I was taken, I had the deficients of ſeven or eight pariſhes, whoſe names had beene given me long before, to quarter on. And this my order led me to doe, being appointed to ceſſe and quarter with my partie, and not to keepe any poſt, place or guarriſon; for if it could have been expected that the people of that countrey wold have riſen againſt me, my partie when it was ſtrongeſt, wold have beene too weake to have enterd there; and after I had enterd, it had beene madnes in me to have ceſſd or quarterd upon any delinquent; for neceſſitie of ſelfe defence, wold have obliged me to have keepd my whole partie conſtantlie together, yea, and to have fortified myſelfe againſt hoſtile attempts.

Three months before my takeing, the halfe of my foot were tane from me to goe to Leith, the warre being hote with Holland; and in the latter end of October, my horſe were ſent for by their ſuperiors; ſo that I had not in my partie full ſeventie men, and all theſe, except twelve or thretteen, quartered on deficients in the countrey. In this poſture were my affaires and myſelfe, when, upon the fifteenth day of November, a partie of phanatikes both horſe and foot, to the number of a hundreth and fiftie or therby, ſurrounded the houſe where I lodged, and made me priſoner. I was ſicke at that time, and had beene ſo for moſt part all that ſummer; it being weell knowne that, betueene the firſt of March and November, I had let blood ſeven times. I can not bot regrate all my lifetime that miſfortune, which I could not prevent unles I could have forſeene it. Tounes, caſtles, citadells, ſtrong forts, well guarriſond, yea and ſome armies too, have beene ſurpriſed in our oune days; and yet they had reaſon to expect the attempt of ane enemie,

and therfor were obliged to keepe good guards and watches; wheras I had no reaſon to looke for any ſuch thing, from a people profeſſing all kind of obedience to the King, and from thoſe who had declard no warre or hoſtilitie. And indeed none could ſpeake more for me then his Majeſtie, when he heard of it, expreſſing himſelfe graciouſlie in theſe words. "What hath befallen him, might have befallen the beſt man of the world." What followed after my takeing, till the overthrow of theſe who tooke me, is ſet doune at large in my Relation to the then Lord Commiſſioner, a true copie wherof follows.—

A RELATION of the late Rebells their motions from the time of their riſeing, till their overthrow, made to his Grace his Majeſties Hie Commiſſioner, by Sir James Turner, Anno 1666.

May it pleaſe your Grace.

If it were onlie theſe of the phanatick partie that blamd me for being acceſſorie to the late Rebellion, I ſould not be much troubled at it; bot it is no ſmall greife to me to heare, that ſome who profeſſe to be of ane other perſuaſion are apt to truſt theſe miſreports, without either heareing me, or examineing the truth, eſpeciallie at a time, when my impriſonment renderd me uncapable to anſuer for myſelfe.

I thinke I may ſafelie avouch it, that malice itſelfe could not have abuſed me, and that partie under my command, with more horride, unchriſtian and inhumane crimes, then a nameles libeller hath done, in ane infamous paper diſperſd againſt me. And ſince I have anſuerd it, and all its corollaries, grievances, aggravations and inſtances, I

ought in juſtice to expect that my anſuere be beleevd, till the libeller affixe his name to his paper, and undertake to prove it.

I thinke I have juſt reaſon to deſire all, of what perſuaſion ſoever they be, to beleeve that the Rebellion was a hatching, long ere I commanded theſe parties which the libeller mentions; and that none of my actions, which he calls oppreſſions, gave any riſe to that inſurrection. And if they will not beleeve me, they will, I hope, give truſt to the worſt of papers, I meane that infamous Declaration of the rebells themſelves, wherin all may ſee that their takeing armes, aimed at no leſſe marke then the ſetting up of their dagon the Covenant, the reſtoration of their Remonſtrance, and ſuch a Preſbiterian government reeſtabliſd as ſuted with the proteſters braines, and the totall aboliſhing of the preſent eccleſiaſticall, and conſequentlie civill government.

My Lord, it will be impertinent for me to tell your Grace all the paſſages, dureing the time of my impriſonment, betueene the Rebells and me. Upon that ſubject, I ſhall be ready to doe it when you command me; onlie give me leave to ſay this much, that they confeſd to me, that three or foure of their pretended grieveances, wherof they ſaid my oppreſſion was one, did not at all give ground for their riſeing, bot onlie did accelerate it. Bot let it be ſo, that my oppreſſion occaſioned this inſurrection, why did theſe of the ſhyres of Aire and Clidſdaill riſe, on whom I never quarterd one ſoldier? ſure theſe men can pretend no oppreſſion of mine. If my oppreſſion gave a riſe to this Rebellion, why did Maxwell of Morith, Macllellan of Barſckob, Macllellan of Balmagaghen, Mr Robinſone the miniſter, Gordon of Holme younger, all of them commanders in this inſurrection, and all of them profeſſing that I had done them ſeverall favours; why did they, I

ſay, riſe? Nay, why did Wallace, who at length commanded in chiefe, take armes, whom I had not ſeene in three and tuentie yeares before? Bot I ſhall ſay no more on this ſubject, bot haſten to give your Grace a relation, (ſo farre as I know), of what paſd from the time the rebells enterd in armes, till they were routed.

About the 12th or 13th of November 1666, a gentleman of the ſteuartrie of Kirkcubright, ſent one to acquaint me, that tuo men were comd from the north of Scotland, to ſollicite ſeverall perſons, (who they conceavd, were either diſſatiſfied with the preſent government, or otherwiſe diſcontented,) to riſe in armes, promiſeing them great aſſiſtance from their countrey: As alſo, he informed me, there was a report, the phanatikes intended to ſeize on the Citadell of Aire, now called Montgomeries toune, and to repaire it. Bot becauſe the gentleman could averre, neither the one nor the other to be a certaine truth, he deſired me to ſuſpend my beleefe, till he ſent a neare friend of his oune to make a more particular inquirie of the whole matter, which I beleeve he did; bot I was made priſoner, before he could give me any further account.

On the 14th day of the ſame month, about ſixe of the clocke at night, a corporall of mine, (who had beene quartered 18th miles from Drumfreis), was brought to me on horſebacke, ſhot in the bellie by Maclellan of Barſkob, accompanied with 18th or 20th men in armes; and this was done, as the corporall affirmed to me, becauſe he refuſd to ſigne the Covenant. This did ſo alarum me, that I reſolvd, (thogh at that time I was right ſicke,) to march directlie to the place where the ryot was committed, ſo ſoone as I could get any of my ſojors together; for my inſtructions being, as your Grace knoues, to ceſſe ſojors perſonallie

on theſe who refuſed to give obedience to church ordinances, it came often to paſſe that I had few or none with me, and at that time, I had not above thretteene with me in toune. This made me immediatlie write orders to moſt of theſe who were ceſſed in the countrey, with all diligence either to come to me, or meet me on the way. I wrote alſo to the Steuart Depute, and deſird him to meet me at the pariſh of Dalry, where the formentiond corporall was wounded; ſo being reſolvd to march, with as many of my ſoldiers as could be brought together the nixt day, I orderd theſe few who were preſent, to come nixt morning at nine a clocke to my lodgeings, and reſſave pouder, match and ball.

Nixt day, being the 15th of the month, I roſe about ſixe of the clocke, and when I was allmoſt cloathd, I found myſelfe ſo indiſpoſd that I was forcd to goe to bed againe. Betueene eight and nine I aroſe once more, and haveing onlie my night goune upon me, the rebells enterd the toune, and ſurrounded my lodgeing. I went to a window, from whence I calld to them, and inquird what they intended. Severall of them, eſpeciallie Neilſon of Corſock, told me that, if I pleaſd, I ſould have faire quarter. My anſuere was, I needed no quarter, nor could I be priſoner, being there was no warre declared. Bot I was anſuerd, that priſoner I muſt be, or dy; and therfor they wiſhed me quicklie to come doune ſtaires, which I chooſd rather to doe, (notwithſtanding the oppoſition of my ſervants,) then be murtherd in my chamber, for ſome of them had allreadie enterd the houſe. I went to the ſtreets in my goune, where many piſtolls and ſuords were preſented to my head and breaſt, till Captaine Gray, (who commanded the whole partie,) made me get on horſebacke, and wold have carried me un-

cloathd out of toune, promiſeing therafter to ſend for my cloathes. Bot at length he was perſuaded to goe with me to my chamber, and to permit me to put on theſe clothes I wore the day before. In the meane time, this Captaine ſeazd on a coffer of mine, where ſome bags of money, ſome linnens, and ſome papers were. Bot his ſojors got more, in ane other chamber, then he; neither could I make him or his officers ſenſible of their overſight, in ſuffering the rebells to cary away ſo much money with them. Before I could get myſelfe in doublet, breeches and bootes, (and haſte enough I was commanded to make,) I could ſee myſelfe robd of all the papers, moneys, armes, horſes, clothes, and linnens I had, thogh the Captaine often promiſd, that not any thing belongd properlie to myſelfe, ſould be imbecelled, and I as oft calld out to them to take all and onlie ſave my papers; this was faithfullie promiſd to me, bot faithleſlie broken. Some few of my ſojors were taken in their lodgeings, for nine a clocke, at which houre I appointed them to meet, was not yet comd. They lookd for Maſter Chalmers, the Perſon of Drumfreis, bot found him not, yet did they bring away his horſe; neither did I heare of any thing els they plunderd at that time. The Captaine mounted me on his oune horſe, and there was good reaſon for it, for he mounted himſelfe on a farre better one of mine, beſides theſe he diſpoſed of to others. Some gentlemen, out of affection, folloued me out of Drumfries; one wherof was rudlie commanded backe, and tuo others were carried eight miles further, allmoſt as priſoners. Yet I had the opportunitie to tell one of them, that ſo ſoone as he returned to the toune, he ſould immediatlie poſt away a ſervant of mine, (whom he knew I truſted,) to my Lord Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, to acquaint him with all had paſſed. It was a great addi-

tion to my griefe, to know that my Lord at that time, becauſe of a feaver wherof he was not recoverd, might fall in a relapſe, and ſo not onlie endanger his life, bot render him uncapable to pay the King and the Church that ſervice, which otherwiſe I knew he was both able and willing to doe; yet I thought it more fitting he ſould have it from my ſervant, then from ane other, who could not perhaps have given him ſo right ane information.

That night I was lodged at the miniſters houſe of Glencairne, bot the rebells did not let me ſtay long there, being frighted from thence by a miſintelligence they had, that the Earle of Anandaill, and my Lord Drumlanrig, were followving them with a ſtrong partie of their friends and vaſſalls. I found it was in vaine for me, to offer to perſuade the Captaine, that it was purlie impoſſible for theſe Lords, in ſo ſhort a time, to get ſo many men together as could rencounter his partie, which conſiſted of above nineſcore men, more then the halfe wherof conſiſted of horſemen, indifferently weill mounted, with ſuords, piſtolls and carabines; the reſt were afoot, armed with muſkets, pikes, ſuords, ſithes and forkes. When they had carried me away from thence, they put a ſtrong guard upon me, and with much difficultie I was permitted to ſpeake to the Captaine, who a litle before had diſmiſd tuentie of my ſojors, whom he had taken in the countrey; telling them, they ſould have no quarters heerafter, if they ſervd the Prelats any more. They had kild one Hammilton, a ſojor of my oune companie, the night before, becauſe he wold neither take the Covenant, or cared for their quarter. I did pleade, I could be no priſoner of warre, and therfor deſird I might be ſet at libertie, which was refuſd me with much ſcorne and contempt.

Then I deſird he wold leave me in ſome place, till I convaleſcd, which I hopd wold be within a day or tuo; and then I wold not faile to come to him upon my paroll, which I promiſd not to breake. Bot the wicked wretch told me, that he was ſo farre from beleeveing my word, that he wold not truſt the King, my maſter, if he were there; and utterd ſuch horride ſpeeches as are not fit for any loyall ſubject to rehearſe. I then told him, he might now diſpoſe of me as he pleaſed, for after theſe expreſſions of his, it did not become me to make any further applications to him. Moſt part of that night was ſpent in rideing, in regard my indiſpoſition conſtraind my guards to march bot ſloulie. Once they tooke me in to refreſh at a place called Caſtell-fairne; the honneſt woman of the houſe was bot ſhreudlie uſed, becauſe by her pitifull lookes ſhe did ſhow ſhe had commiſeration of my condition. There was one of my guards, called Canon of Barnſhalloch, who entertaind me the whole night, with diſcourſes of death, by order, as I imagind, from the Captaine. He told me, he beleeved it was concluded I ſould dy, and therfor wiſhd me to prepare for it, and to repent of all my haynous ſinnes, eſpeciallie of that crying one, of my perſecuting Gods people, who made conſcience to keepe the Covenant, to which all my actions ſhew me to be a mortall enemie. It is needles to trouble your Grace with any more of his language, or my anſuers to him; let it be enough to ſay, that I endeavord to learne from him, whether my death was to be delayed till more of their forces were comd together; his anſuere was, it was probable it might be delayed.

On the fixteenth day of the month, we came to the old Clachan of Dalry, where their number increaſed to tuo hundreth and fiftie. Maſter Hugh Henderſone, late miniſter of Drumfries, who lived neere that

houſe, obtained leave of Gray, that I might dine with him at his houſe. And thogh he and I be of different perſuaſions, yet I will ſay, that he entertaind me with very reall kindnes, and deſird the Captaine to ſet me at libertie; whoſe anſuere was, that he could not diſpoſe of me, till he came to the ſhire of Aire, where he was to reſſave further orders from his ſuperiors. At this place, Major Steuart of Monwhill gave me a viſite, and thogh he be a Preſbiterian, yet in plaine enough language, he called them both fooles and knaves. It was reported to me, that Captaine Graye did heere offer to reſigne his command to this Major Steuart, and that he abſolutlie refuſed it. I had often enquird what this Captaine Gray was, and by what authoritie he did command theſe gentlemen he had never ſeene before; bot I was anſuerd by them all, that they knew no more of him, bot that he called himſelfe Captaine Gray, and that he had brought ane order with him, to them all to obey him. I tooke much pains to learne from whom that order came, whether from one man, as a Generall, or from more men, as a councell, a committee, or junto; bot could never yet, by any means I could uſe, come to the knouledge of it.

At night, the Captaine lodged me with himſelfe, at one Mr Chalmers of Waterſide his houſe, who entertaind me with much curteſie and civilitie. Bot ſo did not my Captaine; for he being againe alarmd with a report, that Anandaill and Drumlanrig were ſeene with a bodie of horſe neere a foord of the water of Ken, he got himſelfe on horſebacke, and calld inceſſantlie to mount the priſoner, for now I had loſd my oune name, and paſt under that of the priſoner. And becauſe I was not ſo ſoone mounted as he would have had me, he entertaind me with very rude language, and threatned me with death. This alarum

provd falſe, thogh it was moſt true that theſe Lords were very buſie raiſeing men, to purſue the rebells. I was permitted to goe into the houſe againe, bot not permitted to ſtay long in it, for about eleven or twelve of the clocke at night, I was againe ſet on horſebacke. Very dark it was, it raind pitifullie, the wind was loud, and the way exceeding bad; yet ſicke as I was, I was forcd to ride eight miles to Corſphairne, where the Captaine lodgd me in a countrey houſe, with ſixteene horſemen to guard me. I ſpent the reſt of the night till day, in that poore houſe, as well as I could. Bot my Captaine reſted bot litle, for the day before he had ſent away the money, and other baggage, which he had got from me, and thinking he had ſped well enough, reſolvd to retire himſelfe, before the fire grew hoter; and accordinglie did beginne his retreate that very night, which he managd ſo diſcreetlie, that he was never ſeene ſince by either me, or any of his oune partie.

I have often thought ſince of the follie of this poore fellow, who ſince he was not ſo abſolutlie wicked as to take my life, and that it was money he was looking after, why he could not be ſo abſolutlie good to himſelfe as to take me with him, who, no queſtion, wold have bought my libertie from him with all the moneys I could be maſter of.

The ſeventeenth day of the month was ſpent in their quarters, under the command of Barſkob, Corſock and Robinſone the miniſter, who paſt then under the name of Captaine Robinſone. At night they inlarged their quarters, in that ſame pariſh of Corſphairne; and I was ſent to the houſe of one Gordon of Knockgray, who was himſelfe in priſon at Kirkcubright, bot his ſonne did entertaine me very kindlie, for ſome favours I had done to his father, bot he was forced likewiſe to entertain threttie horſe, who were ſent to attend me.

The eighteenth day of the month, being the Lords day, we marchd to Damellintoun, to which place Mr John Welch was comd from Edenburgh, with Maxwell of Morith, Maclellan of Balmagachen, and three or foure gentlemen more, who all of them became officers immediatlie. The firſt halfe of that way, I was guarded by civill enough men; bot haveing ſpent one houre at a pitiefull alehouſe, I was deliverd to ane other guard, the commander wherof did entertaine me the length of foure miles, with all the inſolent and outrageous words that he could invent, and affurd me, that dy I muſt, and dy I ſhould. My anſuere was, that my life was not ſo deare to me, as that I wold ſeeke it from him. When we were comd to their body, I perceavd the commander, whom I knew not. Somthing puſled with marſhalling his diſorderlie rable, he preſentlie commanded tuo of the wickedeſt of his guards to cary me forward to the other ſide of a litle hill; and ſpoke ſome thing els privatlie to them, which I did interprete to be a command to diſpatch me; which conceit of mine was corroborated by the inhumane language of theſe tuo who conducted me, who told me, it was juſt both with God and man, to put me to death on a Sabbath day; in regard, ſaid they, I had forced many pretieous Chriſtians to tranſgreſſe the Sabbath, by hindering them to heare their lawfull paſtors in hills and woods, and forcd them to goe to church, to heare dumbe dogs, for ſo they qualified conforme miniſters. I deſird them to doe with me what was commanded them, and not to ſtirre up my paſſion, which might choak theſe better thoughts and meditations that were fit for me to entertaine at that time. Bot I found therafter, that their wickednes proceeded meerlie from themſelves, for I was ſent to that place, onlie that I ſould not ſee the diſorders of their new troops.

At Damellinton I was quarterd at the principall inne, where I had often lodged before; my hoſte and hoſteſſe made me very wellcome; and thogh both of them wer Preſbiterians, yet did they profeſſe their diſlike of the inſurrection, and my impriſonment. Sufficientlie well guarded I was, for three, (whom they calld gentlemen,) ſtayd in the chamber with me, three others at the chamber door, and the reſt below ſtaires. After my guards had ſupped, at my charges, Mr Welch ſent one to enquire of me, if I wold reſſave a viſite from him; my anſuere was, he was a perſon I was lookeing for theſe tuo yeares bygone, bot I had found him now in a wrong time; however, he might come when he pleaſd. When he came, he enterd in a tedious diſcourſe of the Covenant, which, as he ſaid, had made Scotland glorieous in the eyes of the nations. He held out to me, how great ane enemie I had beene to that Covenant, and how much I had endeavord to ſupport Prelacie, by ſuppreſſing and oppreſſing the people of God, who loved not that government. He wiſhd me to meditate much on death, which, as he ſaid, I knew not how ſoone might overtake me. That, thogh perhaps I might anſuere before men for all I had done, yet it wold be hard for me to anſuere all before the tribunall of Jeſus Chriſt, where it was like I might ſhortlie compeare. He confidentlie offerd to aſſure me, that the Lord had reveald it unto them, that this was the time appointed by God, for the deliverance of his ſaints and people, from the perſecutions and tirannies of theſe who had vilipended and contemned the Covenant. And then he told me, that thogh a ſtrict guard was ſtill to be keepd over me, yet it was the ſalvation of my ſoule that they ſought, and that they reſolvd to endeavor to gain me, and that I needed not to apprehend death; bot added theſe words, "I meane," ſaid he, "not ſo ſoone." I

anſuerd particularlie to everie part of this long diſcourſe. Among other things, I told him, that revelations and miracles were ceaſd; that it was not probable that he or his partie could ſet up their Covenant, with ſuch inconſiderable numbers as either they yet had, or were like to get, againſt the Kings ſtanding forces; the which, in all probabilitie, were on their march againſt them. I wiſhd they wold more maturlie conſider what they were doeing, and give over in time, goe home to their houſes, and ſubmit to the Kings clemencie; whoſe former acts of grace might give them confidence to beleeve, that they had to doe with a mercifull prince, who would pardon their errors, and take their grievances to his royall conſideration. Bot by theſe diſcourſes I prevaild as much with him, as he did with me by his. I calld for a cup of ale, purpoſlie that I might heare him ſay grace. In it, he prayd for the King, the reſtoration of the Covenant, and downfall of Prelacie. He prayd likewiſe for me, and honord me with the title of Gods ſervant, who was then in bonds. He prayd for my converſion, and that repentance and remiſſion of ſinnes might be granted to me. After this, the conference broke up, at which were preſent as many as the roome could well hold.

On the ninteenth day of the month, about foure of the clocke in the morning, when I was makeing readie, eight or nine of the rebells horſmen, commanded by Mr Robinſone the miniſter, rod thorough the village tuice or thrice, ey crying aloud, "Rander your priſoner, rebells, rander your priſoner, or you ſhall all dy." I inſtantly conjecturd, that this was done on purpoſe to try what countenance I wold ſhow, and therefore I aſſurd my guards, (who were indeed ignorant of the deſign,) that it was their own people, for it was impoſſible for any of the Kings

forces to be ſo neere. One of them went doune ſtairs, and at his return told me, I had conjecturd right; bot, ſaid he, when firſt I heard the cry, I doubted whether to kill you, or goe doune ſtaires firſt. I aſkd him, if he had any ſuch order, to which he and his comerads anſuered with ſilence. It was then that one of my intelligencers (for tuo I had gaind among them,) told me, they were reſolvd to diſpatch me, ſo ſoone as they met with any oppoſition; bot this reſolution was afterwards alterd. My guards were changd that morning, and after all the new officers had given me a civile viſite, we marchd, and about tuo of the clocke in the afternoone, I was quarterd beſide the church of Torbolton, and their horſe in the pariſh; the foot lodging in the church and church-yard. That afternoone many joynd with them, both from the ſhire of Aire and Cliddſdaill, inſomuch as they ſpoke of nothing bot marching to Glaſgow the nixt day. Bot being informed that night, that My Lord Duke of Hamilton and Generall Dallyell were both comd to that toune, and that nixt day the whole forces wold be there, they betooke themſelvs to their ſecond thoughts. Towards the evening, Mr Robbinſone and Mr Crukſhank gave me a viſite; I calld for ſome ale, purpoſlie to heare one of them bleſſe it. It fell Mr Robbiſone to ſeeke the bleſſing, who ſaid one of the moſt bombaſtick graces that ever I heard in my life. He ſummond God Allmightie very imperiouſlie to be their ſecondarie, (for that was his language;) "and if," ſaid he, "thou wilt not be our ſecondarie, we will not fight for thee at all, for it is not our cauſe, bot thy cauſe; and if thou wilt not fight for our cauſe, and thy oune cauſe, we are not obliged to fight for it. They ſay," ſaid he, "that Dukes, Earls, and Lords are comeing with the Kings Generall againſt us, bot they ſhall be nothing bot a threſhing to us." This

grace did more fullie ſatiffie me of the follie and injuſtice of their cauſe, then the ale did quench my thirſt. That night, they ſent ſeverall parties abroad, who brought many horſes to them. One partie they ſent to the toune of Aire, which brought out of the tolbooth all theſe armes, which E. Glencairne and I had taken from the countrey people the yeare before.

The nixt day, being the tuentieth of the month, about eleven or tuelve of the clocke, the rebells marchd ſtraight to Aire, and ſo farre as I could well perceave, their numbers were encreaſed to above ſeven hundreth; bot they gave it out, that there were five hundreth for them, at ſuch a place, and ſixe hundreth at ane other place, and that their brethren of the north had croſd Forth at the heads. This they told, with many more lyes; for to ſpeake untruths was a veniall ſinne with theſe perſons. While we were on our way, one Major Lermond accoſted me, and uſd me with many inſolencies, telling me, he had knowne me before; "and at that time," ſaid he, "you were a gentleman, bot now you are not; for you are a perſecutor of Gods ſaints, and hath made yourſelfe a ſlave to Prelacie, and the inſtrument of their tirannie." I told him, thogh all his language were true, yet he had timd it very ill. Maſter Gabriell Semple tooke him away from me, and did himſelfe enter in a diſcourſe with me, of Epiſcopacie, Preſbiterie and the Covenant. I was very free with him, in declareing my mind concerning all the three. Then he enquired of me, whether I thought vice and ſinne were not more puniſhed in the time of Preſbiterie, then it was now in the time of Epiſcopacie. I anſuerd, that thogh I ſould grant that to be true, yet wold it militate onlie againſt the Biſhops perſons, and not at all againſt their functions. Bot that he

might ſee that I wold not grant him that either, I told him, I never ſaw either publike or private ſinne more abound then in the years 1643 and 1644, when the Solemne League and Covenant was ſubſcrived by many. He purſued that diſcourſe no further, bot told me, I was in diſgrace with the King, diſerted by the Biſhops, and threatened with death by the Generall; and that I might eaſilie rid myſelfe of all theſe difficulties, by ſigneing the Covenant. Bot when he ſaw that did not prevaile, he had a large diſcourſe of death, on which he deſird me to meditate, and ſo parted civillie with me. That night I was lodged at Aire in ane inne, three of their gentlemen in the chamber with me, and a guard of horſe and foot below ſtaires. Severall of my acquaintances were permitted to ſee me, bot not to diſcourſe in private with me. Yet Colonell Robſone, ane Engliſh gentleman, who lives at Montgomeries toune, found meanes to tell me quietlie, that my death was reſolvd on, ſo ſoone as the rebells did once ſee the Kings forces. At this place I borrowed a little money from a friend of mine, for I had beene maſter of none ſince I was made priſoner. I cannot omit to tell, that on our march to Aire, Major Mackulloch, who was ſince executed at Edenburgh, in my hearing, praiſd God for that happie day he had now ſeene; and, ſaid he, "Magnified be thow, Lord, for thow haſt done thy oune worke thyſelfe." One of his partie, and my guards, rejoyned in this language; "Bide you yet, ſir, the worke is not halfe done, the play is bot beginning." I lookd immediatlie to him, and ſmild on him, and ſo did he upon me. Then I reſolvd, if poſſible, to make a ſtrict acquaintance with him, and to that purpoſe entered in a diſcourſe with him; bot by it, I found he was a perſon not fit to be entruſted with ſecrets, and therfor tooke no more notice of him.

On the tuentieth and one day of the month, my guards were changed; halfe a dozen wherof came to the roome where I was, and pulld me out of it with much rudenes and inſolence; neither wold they give me time to ſubſcrive a note for ſome moneys I owed to my landlord for my ſupper, a hat, and ſome linnens, his wife had prepared for me. And when they had brought me doune ſtaires, and found no horſe readie for me, they made me walke afoot allmoſt out of toune, till the gentleman who commanded my guards the day before, came and carried me backe to the inne, where I had time to ſatiſfie my hoſt, and take my morning draught. And then the ſame gentleman ſaw me mounted on ſuch a horſe as they had allowed me. Heere a ſpurre, which they had permitted me to weare before, was taken from me; and then I was carried out of toune, where they were drauing up their companies. He who commanded my guards, did moſt inſolentlie revile me; he told me, I was a greater perſecuter of Chriſtians, then any who was ever mentiond in hiſtorie. He ſaid, I was the author of all the miſchiefes that had befallen either the Covenanters, or the Covenant itſelfe. Nay, the foole averd, that I was the man that had both preſented and admitted the miniſters in ſeverall pariſhes, unſufficient fellows, that came in by my meanes, without the peoples conſent, with much more ſtuffe to this purpoſe. He was ſo extravagant, that I enterd in ſome paſſion with him, which made me tell him, it was below me to anſuere his inſolent follies, and that he might ſay what he pleaſed, for I wold take no more notice of his language then of the barking of a dog; at which the ridiculous fellow requird the reſt of the guard to be his witneſſes, that thogh there was a great alteration in my condition, yet my heart was not at all changed, bot hardend in wickednes,

in ſo farre, that I had compared him, who was a good Chriſtian, to a dog. Bot Maſter Crukſchanck the miniſter, haveing heard of this dialogue, came and gave him a very ſevere reproofe, and told him, thogh ane idolatrous king had ſaid it, yet it was truth, that he who puts on his harneſſe, ſould not boaſt, as he who puts it of. Neither, ſaid he, does any of us know, bot that before night, we may be in the ſame condition that this gentleman is, or a worſe. From Aire, the rebels marched tuo miles, and paſſed the water at Afton Bridge, and then drew up in a field. My ignorant guard carried me up to their van, where I preſentlie began to number them, bot was ſoone interrupted by ſome of their officers, who under a ſhow of civilitie, deſired me and my guards to goe to the nixt alehouſe and refreſh a litle.

Heere they ſtayd about tuo houres and a halfe, and as I was told, placd ſome officers both of horſe and foot. Immediatlie after, they repaſſed the ſame bridge, and marchd in to the pariſh of Colton. Bot by the way, I was commanded to alight from the horſe I did ride on, becauſe they alleadged he was too ſuift, and mounted I was on ane other, who wold not goe without ſtroakes. And to make ſure worke with me, they tooke away a ſpurre from me, which that ſame wicked fellow, who had abuſd me ſo much that morning, (to make ſome amends for his uncivilitie,) had lent me. I was very deſireous to have keepd the ſpurre, bot Major Lermond told me, that the committee had orderd it otherwiſe. "What," ſaid I, "have they brought the buſienes that length, as to a committee? perhaps the firſt act of it hath unſpurd me." They likewiſe appointed one Callhoone, a bankrupt merchant of Glaſgow, in whom they much truſted, to command my guards; which he did tuo days together very ſtrictlie, yet with very much reſpect and civilitie.

Heere Lieutenant Colonell Wallace came to me, in a long cloake, his muntero draune over his face, and his beard very rough. His deportment was civill; he aſkd me, how I had my health, and if I knew him. I told him, I knew his face, but could not ſo ſoone remember his name. He immediatlie told me who he was, and profeſd to be ſorry to ſee me in that condition; and after that, I had conſtantlie exterior civilities from him. We lodgd that night diſperſdlie in that pariſh of Coltoun, where we had ſome alarums. And after the word "horſe, horſe," was given, (for that was all their trumpet;) the nixt word was conſtantlie, "mount the priſoner," which many times was given in ſuch haſte, that I had litle time alloud me to pull on my bootes; which made me reſolve in time coming not to pull them of at all, thogh it provd exceeding troubleſome to ride, walke, ſit and ly conſtantlie in them.

On the tuo and tuentieth day of the month, we marchd to Ochilltree, where Maſter Johne Welch, (who went from Damellintoune to Galloway to fetch freſh forces,) met us with his armie, (for ſo ſome of the rebells wold needs have it called). I ſaw them afarre of, and reckond them to be neere one hundreth ill armed foot, and ſome fifteene or ſixteene horſe. I was lodged that night at the principall alehouſe of the toune, where I was indifferentlie well uſed, and viſited by ſome of their officers and miniſters. Moſt of their foot were lodged about the church and churchyard, and order given, to ring bells next morning, for a ſermon to be preachd by Mr Welch. Maxwell of Morith and Major Mackulloch, invited me to heare that phanatick ſermon, (for ſoe they merrilie calld it). They ſaid, that preaching might prove ane effectuall meane to turne me, which they heartelie wiſhd. I anſuerd them, that I was under guards, and that, if they intended to

heare that ſermon, it was probable I might heare it likewiſe, for it was not like my guards wold goe to church, and leave me alone at my lodgeings. Bot to what they ſpoke of my converſion, I ſaid, it wold be hard to turne a Turner. Bot becauſe I found them in a merry humour, I ſaid, if I did not come to heare Mr Welch preach, then they might fine me in fortie ſhillings Scots, which was duoble the ſoume of what I had exacted from the phanatikes. Bot there was no ſermon, which undoubtedlie I would have heard, if there had beene any. It was told me, that Mr Welch had a ſhort ſpeech to their officers, at Sir Johne Cochrans houſe, where moſt of them, and their miniſters were quarterd; bot his lady was ſo farre from makeing them wellcome, (Sir Johne himſelfe being then with the Generall), that ſhe would not be ſeene by any of them. And I ſuppoſe, we were all of us deare enough gueſts to Sir Johne, for I am confident, his ſervants were forcd to entertaine neere a hundreth of their horſes, among whom were ſixteene of my guardes, if not more.

On the tuentie third day of the month they broke up from Ochilltrie, about eleven of the clocke in the morning, and marchd to Cumlock. Once I thought the rebells intended for Sanquor, to pay there ſome of their relligieous vowes; one wherof was, to ruine my Lord Drumlanrigs caſtles and lands, becauſe he was active againſt them, and, as they were informed, had hangd tuo of his vaſſals or tennents, becauſe they had faild to be at a rendes-vous which he had appointed. Bot the ſaints were wiſe in their anger, and delayd their revenge till a more fit opportunitie. Upon their march to Murekirke, they had intelligence that the Kings forces were marchd the day before from Glaſgow to Killmarnock, which provd to be true. The way to that church was

exceeding bad, a very hie wind, with a grieveous raine in our faces. The night fell darke before we could reach the place where the foot were quartered, with no meate or drinke, and with very litle fire. I doe confeſſe, I never ſaw luſtier fellows, then theſe foot were, or better marchers; for thogh I was appointed to ſtay in the reare, and notwithſtanding theſe inconveniences, yet I ſaw few or none of them ſtragle. Major Lermond, (who endevord to make ſome amends for his former incivilities), gave order to quarter me in the beſt alehouſe neere the church. Bot threttie of their foot came likewiſe, and quarterd themſelves with me, in ſpite of my horſe guards.

On the tuentieth and fourth day of the month, about nine of the clocke of the morning, they rendevouſd at Murekirke; where I was permitted to buy tuo litle nags, ane for myſelfe, and ane other for a drummer of mine, who had ſtayd conſtantlie with me, and for both I payd no more bot tuelve dollars; it will be eaſilie granted I could doe no great feates on horſes of that price. It was from this place, or from Douglas, that they ſufferd Mr Welch his ſervant to carry ane open letter of mine to my wife at Glaſgow, for they wold not permit me to write to . . . . . (who, they ſaid, was at London), or to my Colonell the Earle of Linlithgow, or to Generall Dallyell. We began our march about ten a clocke, and ſpent moſt of the day ere we could get to Douglas, the way being rough and mountanous, and the weather rainie and boiſterous. Here it was told me, by one of my intelligencers, that they intended to march to Hammilton, and from thence, (if they could give the Generall the goeby,) to Glaſgow. We made a ſtand at Douglas till quarters were made, and in that interim, I was accoſted by one Mitchell, whom I had never ſeene before, a preacher, bot no

actuall miniſter, who ſpared not to raile ſufficientlie againſt all authoritie both ſupreame and ſubalterne. He ſeemd to be moſt offended with the gentlemen of the long robe, who, as he conceavd, had beene the contrivers and penners of theſe laws, either in Parliament or Councell, which did uphold the prelaticall government. Nixt to them he furieouſlie blamd me, for oppreſſing men in their conſciences and eſtates, by putting theſe unjuſt laws in execution. He ſaid, I had oppreſd men who had ſhoune more loyaltie to the King, in the time of uſurpation, then any of theſe who had pend thoſe laws. I told him, ſharplie enough, if both my conſcience and judgment had not gone along with the juſtice and equitie of theſe laws, no worldlie advantages ſould ever have made me undertake the execution of them. He ſeemd to commend my ingenuitie, bot enterd on ane other diſcourſe, which paſſd all preſcriptions of modeſtie. That night, Wallace beganne to command their forces, which power, with the title of colonell, as I was told, was given him by their committee; in which alſo it was debated, what ſould be done with me, bot nothing concluded on the matter.

On the tuentie and fifth day of the month, being the Lords day, they broke up from Douglas, and marched neere Leſmahego; haveing beene informed, bot not trulie, that my Lord Duke of Hammilton, onlie with his oune troope, and ſome of the countrey gentlemen, ... which made them ſpeake of beateing up his quarters; which gladlie they wold have done, being much incenſed againſt my Lord, becauſe he had forced, under all hieſt paines, the gentrie and communaltie to goe with the Generall, againſt both their conſciences and judgments, as they pretended. At this place they ſtayd about tuo houres, haveing ſent a partie of horſe to Lanrick to make quarters. I was taken into a contrey houſe, under

pretence to refreſh, bot it was, that I ſould not looke upon their armie, (for ſo they were pleaſd to call it,) till they had marſhalld it rightlie. At length I was mounted, and led along the reare of both horſe and foot, and therafter I was brought to the front of the battell, where I did not let the opportunitie ſlip to reckon them. I found their horſe did conſiſt of foure hundreth and fortie, and the foot of five hundreth and upwards, beſides the partie of horſe which was at Lainrick, and ſome other ſmall parties which they had ſent abroad to plunder horſes; a Sundayes exerciſe proper onlie for phanaticks. The horſe men were armed for moſt part with ſuord and piſtoll, ſome onlie with ſuords. The foot, with muſket, pike, ſith, forke and ſuord; and ſome with ſtaves, great and long. There I ſaw tuo of their troopes ſkirmiſh againſt other tuo, (for in foure troopes their cavallerie was divided,) which I confeſſe they did handſomlie, to my great admiration. I wonderd at the agilitie of both horſe and rider, and to ſee them keepe troope ſo well, and how they had comd to that perfection in ſo ſhort a time. The foot were not exerciſed at this time. At length they marched to Lanrick, the horſe croſſing the river of Clide by the foord, and the foot by the boate, for there was bot one.

The principall Bayliffe of the toune was willing to have lodged me at his oune houſe, bot he was onlie permitted to ſhow his kindnes to me, by preſenting me with a cup of ale in his oune chamber, (all the reſt being taken up for their officers), and by giveing me a viſite at ane other lodging prepard for me. Heere Commiſſarie Lockheart came alſo and ſaw me, and profferd very kindlie to lend me any gold or ſilver I ſtood in need of, wherof I did not accept, yet I borrowed a change of linnens from him. The toune was ſearchd for armes and

amunition, and onlie fourteene partiſanes, and three or foure pound of pouder were found, and taken out of the tollbooth. That night a councell or committee was keepd, where it was concluded, that nixt morning the Covenant ſould be renewd, and ſuorne. And the queſtion was, whether immediatlie after, they ſould put me to death; they who were for it, pretended ane article of the Covenant obliged them to bring all malignants to condigne puniſhment. Bot it was reſolvd, that I ſould not dy ſo ſoone, bot endeavors ſould be uſed to gaine me. All this was told me by one of my intelligencers, before tuo of the clocke nixt morning. Yet I have heard ſince, that it was formallie put to the vote, whether I ſould dy preſentlie, or be delayed, and that delay was carried in the councell, by one vote onlie.

Let now all people of impartiall judgments determine, whether this armie of pretended ſaints ſpent this Lords day, as Chriſtians ought to doe; and theſe who make Sabbath breakeing a crying ſinne, how will they excuſe this crue of rebellious hipocrites, who began that dayes worke in the morning with ſtealeing a ſilver ſpoone and a night goune at Douglas, and ſpent the reſt of the day, moſt of them in exerciſeing, in a militarie way, and the reſt in plundring houſes and horſes, and did not beſtow one houre or minute of it, in the Lords ſervice, either in prayers, praiſes or preaching? Bot they made a good amends at night; for omitting the dueties of the day, by paſſing one act for renewing the Covenant, and ane other for murthering me whenever they ſould thinke it fitting. This I ſhall ſay, they were not to learne to plunder, and that I have not ſeene leſſe of divine worſhip any where, then I ſaw in that armie of theirs; for thogh at their rendevouſes and halts they had opportunitie enough everie day for it, yet did I never heare any

of their miniſters, (and as themſelves told me, there was not ſo few as tuo and threttie of them, wherof onlie five or ſixe converſd with me,) either pray, preach, or ſing pſalmes; neither could I learne that it was ever practiſd publiklie, except once by Mr Robbiſone at Corſſairne, ane other time by Mr Welch at Damellinton, and now the third time by Mr Semple at Lanrick, where the laufull paſtor was forcd to reſigne his pulpit to him. What they did in ſeverall quarters, I know not; perhaps they had ſome familie exerciſe there. I am ſure in my quarters, my guards neither prayd nor praiſd, for any thing I ever heard; and being for moſt part in one room together, it is to be ſuppoſed I muſt have beene a witnes to their devotions. Bot I confeſſe I was more overwearied with the tedioufnes and impertinencies of their graces before and after meate, then I was either with the ſcarſnes or badnes of my meate and drinke.

It was now Monday morning, the tuentie ſixth of the month, when one of their miniſters did reade the Covenant on the top of the ſtaires of the tollbooth, which was ſuorne by all the aſſiſtants. Bot neither I nor any of my guards were invited to that morning exerciſe. When moſt of them were marchd out of toune, I was calld out of my lodgeing, and Major Lermond wold needs convoy me himſelfe, for feare, forſooth, that the toune people ſould ſtone me. Bot I am ſure none of them offered ſo much as one injurieous word to me; yet I heard many poore people curſe them for takeing free quarter, (I haveing paid my hoſte for all my guards and I dranke; for meate he wold take nothing, for which he witneſſed his thankfullnes in holding my ſtirrop, when I got on horſebacke.) It was ane ordinare thing for any of them all, to call for any thing was neceſſare for either horſe or man, and ſay

they wold pay it when they came backe. This was bot a peccadillo in both officers and ſojors, for a great ſinne it could not be in ſuch ſaints, who, ſay they, have the onlie true right to the creature. Bot one houre was not paſt, when I could tell Major Lermond what made him ſo officious as to convoy me that morning. There was a certaine perſone, who ſhall be nameles, who deſird to ſee me led as a priſoner, environd with a number of draune ſuords, to ſatiſfie whom, the Major led me out of the way round about the tollbooth, before a hie window where that perſone ſtood. There were many ſignes of joy, and much laughter paſſd betuixt him and the Major, yet he endevord to keepe himſelfe ſo within the window that I ſould not ſee him, bot in vaine, for I ſaw him well enough. It was a ridiculous action of that fooliſh Major, to ſatiſfie any mans curioſitie, by abuſeing himſelfe, and the charge he then exerced. And to the other, I ſhall ſay, it was below a gentleman, and unbeſeeming a good ſubject, to deſire to glut his eyes with the ſight of the low condition and captivitie of one who profeſſd loyaltie to the King, Heere at Lanrick ſeverall fellows joyned with the rebells, to the number, as I thinke, of fortie or fiftie; bot they were not able to arme the halfe of them. And now the rebells were in their greateſt ſtrength, which I avow never to have exceeded eleven hundreth horſe and foot, (if ever they were ſo many,) for thogh in everie place ſome came to them, yet ſome likewiſe diſerted them, among whom were ſome of their miniſters, particularlie Mr Alexander Pedden.

Without the toune, in ſight of their armie, for ſo they wold have it called, Major Lermond, Mr Robbinſone, and ane other miniſter whom I knew not, with tuo or three officers more, came to me; and the Major embraceing me, ſaid, that I was in greater ſafetie with them then I

could be with the Kings forces, in regard the Generall intended to put me to death; and that ſome great perſon had, and wold ſtop all ways for me to enter in the Kings favour; that I had beſt conſider my oune condition, that my perſecuteing the Covenant was the ground of the controverſie betueene God and me; and if I wold take the Covenant, as they had done that morning, beſides the good I ſould doe to my oune ſoule, I ſould be eminent enough in the eyes of the world. Much to this purpoſe did he and the reſt of them harangue to me. My anſuere was premeditated, and ſuch as proceeded from one reſolvd to dy. Firſt, I wiſhd that Mr Semple had beene there, to whom I had at large related, on what grounds I had taken that Covenant three and tuentie yeares agoe; as alſo how I had repented for doeing it; what were the grounds that movd me to that repentance, with a reſolution never to enter into it againe. I told them, I lookd upon the preſent condition of affaires with a ſorrowfull heart, and that I forſaw, that he, whom they calld their enemie, (meaning the Generall,) would engadge them within eight and fortie houres, which I wiſhd I might prevent with the loſſe of my life; which I was heartilie willing to ſacrifice, if therby I might expiate theſe offences, wherwith I was unjuſtlie charged, conditionallie no more blood might be ſhed, and that they wold goe home to their houſes and implore his Majeſties pardon, who is both readie to forgive for time bygone, and readie to heare their grievances in time to come. "And now," ſaid I, "gentlemen, you may perceave, by what I have ſaid, how little the terrors of death are like to prevaile with me;" and to what I have ſaid, I tooke God to be my witnes, who, ſaid I, in all probabilitie will ſhortlie be my judge. And to Maſter Robbinſone (who ſpoke ſomething to me of death,) I ſaid thus; "Mr

Robbinſone, I know you, and to you now I ſpeake. The houſe of death hath many doores, and thorough one or ane other of them we muſt all enter; for me, I reſolve to endure the moſt ſevere ſtroake of the Kings juſtice, rather than cary a ſuord againſt him or his authoritie. If," ſaid I, "a man enjoy the inward peace of his mind, it is no matter whether a feaver, a piſtoll, a ſuord, a dagger, a hatchet, or a halter, uſher him to his grave." They were pleaſd to ſay that I had ſpoken generouſlie, bot averd that all of them were as much for his Majeſties perſon and authoritie as I was, or any other that carried his commiſſion; and added, they wold give me time to conſult with God and my conſcience, which I accepted, and ſo we parted.

They had marchd now about a mile and a halfe, and enterd in a moras, when one came and told them that the enemies forepartie was ſeene on the other ſide of the river; and that Mondrogat, who commanded a partie of theirs at the foord, had either dround or broken the boate. Lermond was ſent thither, to ſee in what condition their affaires ſtood, their body marching on. Bot within one houre, or therby, the Generall had paſſd the river with both his horſe and foot; the Earles of Linlithgow and Kellie ſhowing their foot companies good example by wadeing the river firſt themſelves. Upon this intelligence the rebells facd about, and drew up as formallie as the ground could permit. And certainlie if the Generall had comd up that length and attackd them, he had done it with a notable ſeene diſadvantage, the moras being ſo deepe, and the way ſo narrow, that hardlie the foot, much leſſe the horſe, could do any great ſervice. When they heard the Generall had made his quarters at Lanrick, they marchd on. A little before this, Mr Laurie of Blackwood was brought to them; what his errand was

I know not, bot if it was to intimate the proclamation and act of grace, he did it with ſo little noyſe, and to ſo few, that not all their officers, much leſſe their ſoldiers, knew any thing of it; neither did he ſo much as give me any hint of it, thogh he and I rode a full houre together.

In this march, Wallace had ſeverall diſcourſes with me, particularlie of the ſtrength of the Kings forces. I told him, I conceavd the troopes of horſe to conſiſt of ſixe hundreth, and the tuo regiments of foot neere tuo thouſand. Bot he replyd, that he had latelie beene in Edenburgh, and had privatlie ſeene all the foot companies, when they went out to exerciſe, and that he conceavd them to be below that number I ſpoke of. He ſaid, he was informed that the Generall had left tuo troopes of horſe, and ſixe companies of foot behind him, bot where, or for what reaſon, he had not yet learned. He ſaid likewiſe, that the ſpeedines of the march, the foulnes of the weather, and the badnes of the way, muſt of neceſſitie have leſſened the Generalls numbers much; and concluded, he could not be above foure hundreth horſe, and eight hundreth foot. And withall he told me, that many that were with the Generall, wold wearie of the fatigue of the march, and wold importune him to leave his foot, and follow with his horſe, which the ſaid Wallace proteſted, he wold looke upon as a great advantage to his cauſe. I ſhew him he entertained ſuch hopes in vaine; for neither could the Kings forces be ſo much diminiſhd, or was it probable, the Generall wold ſeparate his horſe and his foot; "a certain demonſtration wherof," ſaid I, "you have juſt now learnd, for you have heard that he hath cauſd his whole foot wade thorough that foord, which yeſternight with ſome difficultie you paſſed on horſeback. Bot if he wold have left his foot behind, it was his time to doe it on the other ſide of the river, and then have folloued

you with his horſe." Moreover, I told him, it was like, the Lords who were with the Generall, were accompanied with numbers of the countrey gentlemen, with their friends and vaſſals. At this he ſmild, and did inſinuate, that theſe I mentioned were not like to doe him very great hurt, for he looked not on them as enemies to him or his cauſe. To this I anſuered, that all the gentlemen of the weſterne ſhires who were of his perſuaſion, had opportunitie and time enough to have joynd with him, before the Generall came the length of Kilmarnock. And ſo we parted for that time.

They came neere to Calder with daylight; and againe, I muſt ſay, that I have ſeldome or never ſeene luſtier foot then theſe they had. They keepd rank and file on that miſerable way and weather, even to admiration, and yet outmarched their horſe, and got to the van of them, either thorough neglect or miſunderſtanding of their officers. Bot Maxwell of Morith and Lermond rode up, and reducd them to their former order. Neere to Calder, I ſaw halfe a dozen of farmers meet with Maſter Semple, who told him, as I was informed, that a good number of his perſuaſion had that morning keepd a private rendevous, of purpoſe to joyne with him, bot haveing heard that the Covenanted armie had marchd touards Glaſgow, they had diſbanded. Mr Semple imployed theſe fellows to be guides to their armie. When Wallace came up to us, he orderd his forces to march to Bathket, which was a litle out of the roade way to Edenburgh; this, I confeſs, made me doubt whether he intended for Edenburgh or Glaſgow. He increaſed my doubt, by aſking me, whether I did not think that when Generall Dalyell heard that he, the ſaid Wallace, was at Bathket, he wold not imagine, that he had turnd head to Glaſgow, and therfor wold endea-

vour to get between him and it. He ſmild when he aſkd me this queſtion, hugging himſelfe (as I found afterwards) with the fancie, that he had, by that turn of his, caſt the Generall a whole days march behind him. I told him, there was no queſtion bot the Kings Lieutenant Generall could not readilie reſolve, whether to follow him ſtraight to Edenburgh, or intercept his paſſage to Glaſgow, for I myſelfe, who was with him, did much doubt which of the tuo places he intended for. This doubt of mine made him laugh with open mouth, for it was no ſmall joy to him to think he had puzled me; and this gave me occaſion to meditate a whole houre after, how vaine a thing man is.

Haveing well enough perceavd, notwithſtanding this frolicke of his, that he ſtill imagind the Kings forces were at his heels, and therfor wold not ſtay long in one place, I deſird him to permit me, with my guards, to goe to ſome houſe, where I might repoſe a litle. My deſire was civillie granted by him, and he ſeemd to regrate very much, both my condition and indiſpoſition. My guards, (wherof David Scot, a weaver, was Captaine,) carried me ſtraight to Bathket, and tooke up for my quarters the beſt alehouſe; and there ſome countrey gentlemen of my acquaintance had beene undoubtedlie unhorſed, if I had not uſd ſome dexterous means, not perceivd then by my blockheaded guards, to make them underſtand their danger, and eſcape it; for which ſome of my guards, ſorry to have looſed ſuch a prey, complaind afterwards to Wallace, bot he tooke litle or no notice of it. After I had refreſhd a little, Mr Semple, and their pretended Generall Quartermaſter, came to the houſe, and made quarter for the armie; bot ſo, that none of their horſe were to lodge one mile beyond that place. When they

had done, and that Mr Semple, and I had diſcourſed a litle, I caſt myſelfe on the top of a bed, and ſleepd till Wallace and the reſt of his officers came. He and they made their ſupper at my lodgeing; I was invited to it, bot pretended want of ſleepe for my excuſe. About tuelve of the clocke at night, "Horſe, horſe, and mount the priſoner," was proclaimd. All was readilie obeyed, and the march went from thence ſtraight to Edenburgh; bot the raynie and boyſterous weather, the darknes of the night, and deepnes of the way, occaſioned a moſt diſorderlie march; for after they were three or foure miles on their way, moſt of them, both horſe and foot, went into houſes on the hie way, and by my perſuaſion, ſo did my guards too. We ſtayd in a poore houſe, till daylight ſummond us to horſebacke. That night fortie horſe were too many to have routed them all. Bot ſeldome doth one enemie trulie know what ane other is doing. Nixt morning, about ten of the clocke, they rallied well enough at the new bridge, five miles from Edenburgh. They drew up in tuo ſquadrons of horſe, and one of foot. In the numbering of all the three, I could find few above one thouſand.

At this place, I neither heard prayers, pſalmes, or preaching; yet one of their miniſters, (and they ſaid, it was either one Guthrie, or one Oglebie,) made a ſpeech to them, which, if his cauſe had beene good, had not been evill. He deſird them to remember that Covenant and oath of God, which they had ſuorne the day before, and that they were obliged to cary themſelves not onlie pieouſlie to God, bot civillie and diſcreetlie to man. He aſſurd them, their friends were readie to reſſave and embrace them with open armes, and furniſh them with all neceſſaries for backe and bellie, as alſo with all things might render them able to encounter their enemies; armes and amunition aſſuredlie

he meant. "Bot," ſaid he, "you muſt not ſtop there, for to be civill to thoſe who are good to you, deſerves neither thankes nor reward. Bot I intreate you," ſaid he, "to uſe all imaginable diſcretion to thoſe who are not of your perſuaſion; endeavor to gaine them with love, and by your good carrieage, ſtop the mouths of your adverſaries." This ſpeech, though it was not unworthie a Chriſtian, (thogh a rebell,) yet did it not at all pleaſe me; for by it I perceavd the miniſter conceavd the toune of Edenburgh to be his oune. Bot before he ſleepd, I was diſabuſed, and he was diſappointed.

It was now the ſeven and tuentieth day of the month, and thretteenth of the inſurrection, when the rebells marchd from that bridge to Collinton, tuo miles from Edenburgh. In ſome places of the way, they were in view of the Caſtle, bot at ſuch a diſtance that the guns of it could not reach them. The place where they quarterd, by reaſon of a church and churchyard, a ſtone bridge, the water, becauſe of the great raines, unfoordable, was defencible enough againſt infalls. My guards and I were lodged in the beſt inne, and about the evening, Wallace and moſt of his officers gave me a viſite. He told me that he was more troubled for me than for himſelfe; for he found it wold be convenient for him to ſtay in the field moſt of that night, which he thought wold not be fit for me to doe, and therfor aſkd me, if I wold not ſtay in my lodgeing with my guards. Bot I apprehending my guard might have order rather to diſpatch me, then ſuffer me to be taken from them, told him, I wold rather chooſe to goe to the field with him. While we were ſpeaking thus, the noyce of tuo piſtolls gave ane alarm; Wallace preſentlie left me, bot left order with my guard to keepe me in my lodgeing till his further direction. After a

litle time he returned, and told me it was boyſterous and rainie weather, and that he had reſolved to let ane evill night kill itſelfe; and that I might goe and take ſome reſt if I pleaſed.

Bot the above mentioned Laurie of Blekwood his comeing to that place, with Mr Richard of Barſkemmine, who was ſent from the Generall, made me reſolve not to ſleepe till I knew both their errand and their anſuere. And becauſe I found I was not concernd in my oune particular in any of them, I reſolvd to be the more free both in it and their generall meſſage. Both of them gave me a viſite, and I found Mr Laurie did not deceave my expectation of him. They had met with Wallace and his officers, before I ſaw them. Barſkemmine came alone without Laurie; he was folloued by Mr Robinſone and tuo other phanaticks, who were to beare witnes what paſd betueene him and me. I dare aſſure your Grace, Barſkemmine acted his part very handſomlie. He intimated to all he could either meet or ſpeake with, (without any feare of the rebells,) his Majeſties act of grace, and the Privie Councells proclamation; which did produce ſo good effects, that it diminiſhd their number at leaſt one hundreth, before nixt morning. He and I both endevord very much to ſpeake one word in private together, bot Mr Robbiſone wold by no means permit it; yet we mannagd the buſienes ſo well, that under the notion of ſome dollars, (which he offerd to lend me,) I told him the true number of the rebells, and as much of their deſignes as I either knew or could gueſſe at. At our conference, one of my guards ſaid, there was a fleet of fortie men of warre of Hollanders neere the coaſt of Scotland; to which Barſkemmine replyd, that whoever truſted to the Hollanders, leand on a broken reed; and this I ſeconded, which put Mr Robbiſone in ſo great

a paſſion, that he did with much impudence avouch, that he and the reſt of his partie were as ready to march againſt the Hollanders, in defence of his prince and his countrey, as either Barſkemmine or I, thogh I had my libertie. And then it was that I did declare to him, in preſence of Barſkemmine, that I was readie to performe the promiſe I had made at Lanrick, of ſacrificeing my life, to ſhunne the effuſion of more blood, which I did too well perceave wold be ſhed. And it was then likewiſe that Mr Robbiſone declard, that nothing wold ſatiſfie their partie bot the dounfall of Epiſcopacie, and the reſtoration of Preſbiterian government.

Before Barſkemmine came, I aſkd Wallace how it came to paſſe, that neither wine, good bread, nor ſtrong waters, were brought from Edenburgh by his ſutlers. He anſuerd me, that the provoſt of that citie had taken ſuch a ſtrict courſe for keepeing all ſo well within the toune, that nothing could be brought out of it; and that the ſame provoſt had appointed ſtrong guards, with . . . fielding peeces, at everie port, and had caſt up a very ſtrong worke at the Weſtport, which I interpreted to be a barricado. He told me alſo, that he was of the opinion that the provoſt wold reſſave no meſſage or addreſſe from him. By this ingenuous diſcourſe, Colonell Wallace did exceedinglie comfort me; for I had reaſon to imagine that the rebells made an account to get ſtrong ſupplys out of that citie, if not to be abſolute maſters of it. About tuo or three of the clocke in the morning, the rebells quarters without Collinton were beaten up by ſome loyall gentlemen, under the command of my Lord Ramſay, as I ſuppoſe, who quarterd then in the Canongate with ſome of the gentry of Lothian, wherof he was Sheriffe. What number was kild or taken I did not

much inquire, bot they ſaid themſelves that a ſtout reſiſtance was made.

That night, I was told by one of my intelligencers, that one of the rebells had undertaken to carry a meſſage into Edenburgh, and bring ane anſuer out of it from their friends. And ſo he might, for I knew the undertaker to be ane Edenburgh merchant. Nixt morning the ſame perſone told me, that the meſſenger was returned, bot with what news he could not tell. "We ſhall," ſaid I, "know that quicklie by their motions." And it was as I ſaid, for immediatlie they marched ſouthward, diſpaireing of any good from the citie.

It was the tuentie eight day of the month, and the fourteenth and laſt of the rebellion. At firſt, when they began their march, I imagind they intended for Dalkieth, and ſo to Tiviotdaill. Bot when I ſaw them leave that road, and take the way of Linton, I knew not what to thinke, and perhaps the rebells knew not what to doe. Some foure or five miles from Edenburgh, at a place called the Gallow Law, (ane ominous name,) they made ane halt, bot did not draw up, waiting for their reare, for many had ſtayd behind lookeing for their breakfaſts. Some wherof, and theſe not a few, I ſaw go into Fulford, not to plunder, (for that was ane odieous word in the eares of the ſaincts,) bot only to enquire how Sir William Purves his cellars were provided. His ſervants can tell if theſe pieous people did offer any drinke money for what they ate, drunke, or tooke. At this place, one of my guards made me a proffer of ſome bread and cheeſe, which he ſaid he had got at a curats houſe; for now the worke of reformation went ſo ſtronglie on, that all gentlemen, and countrey farmers, who had any thing that was uſeful for the ſaincts, paſd under the name of curats. I told him,

I was readie to accept his offer, (and indeed, I was not ſo hungrie the whole time I was their priſoner,) if I could be affurd of a cup of ale, which he promiſd to bring from the nixt alehouſe. In the mean time came Wallace, who ſeeing me a foot, lighted from his horſe, and began to enter in a diſcourſe with me. Bot whill I endeavord both to heare him, and make uſe of my well purchacd vittaills, one of my guards pointing at ane hie hill, cryd, "There comes the enemy;" . . . ane other of them cryd, "It is a partie of our oune." We lookd preſentlie that way, and whether Wallace was ſtartled at this ſight or not, I know not, bot I am ſure I was ſo alarmd that I forgot my breade and cheeſe. When I ſaw the partie appear numerous, I preſentlie apprehended it was the Generalls forpartie, or forlorne hope, eſpeciallie when I calld to mind that Barſkemmine had told me, that the head quarter the night before had been at Weſt Calder. It provd to be as I thought, which, as I was afterwards informed, was commanded by Lieutenant Generall Drummond himſelfe. I ſaid to Wallace, "Sir, be not ſurpriſed, for this may prove to be a partie of your oune, which I ſaw ride up ane other hill a little while agoe." His anſuere was this; "They are tuo blacke," meaneing many, "to be a partie of ours; fy, fy, for ground to draw up on." To which I replyd, "You had beſt look for it elſwhere, for heere there is none." Both of us got preſentlie on horſebacke, and ſince that time I never ſaw him. This I ſhall ſay of him, (rebell as he is,) he was conſtantlie civill to me, and I have charitie to beleeve, if he had not beene over ruled by others, the reſtraint of my libertie wold have beene the greateſt hurt I might have expected from him. He tooke all his people, horſe and foot, round about the Gallow Law, and drew them up in that order as firſt Lieutenant Generall Drummond,

and therafter Generall Dallyell ſaw them. I ſhall not offer to give your Grace ane account of the ſkirmiſh which the Kings Major Generall and his forepartie had with the rebells, and the ſucceſſfull iſſue of it, or how long he ſtood with his partie after that ſkirmiſh, before the cavalrie came up to him; onlie this I may aſſure your Grace, that it was very comfortable to me to ſee him keepe his ground. Nor ſhall I trouble your Grace to tell you, how long it was ere the foot could come up . . the horſe, thogh all poſſible diligence, even to extremitie, was uſed by the Earles of Linlithgow and Kellie to bring the infantrie up. And thogh theſe noble lords, and all under their command, could not bot be . . . . . ſo long and ſo arduous a march, (for thogh I was not with them, yet I went allmoſt foot for foot before them,) in moſt ſtormie and tempeſtuous weather, and very bad way; yet at night, after the fight, I found both their lordſhips, and all under them, not only readie to proſecute the victorie, bot if need had beene, to have folloued that night the rebells, if they had endeavord, without fighting, to have made their retreate. Neither ſhall I offer to trouble your Grace with the errors the Rebells committed at this their laſt tryall, or with the ſucceſſe of that unhappie encounter, being I know all this hath beene ſufficientlie done by his Majeſties Lieutenant Generall and Major Generall. I ſhall onlie preſume to give your Grace ane account of what they did not ſee, and what I did ſee.

After the encounter which the Major Generall had in the morning, I ſaw ſeven or eight of the Rebells horſes come backe upon their ſquads, without riders; which, when thirtie or fortie of their horſemen (who were bot comeing up from the reare,) did perceave, they keeped on the high way to Linton, at a faire and full trot, without offering to turne

the hill to joyne with their brethren; ſo much did ſelfe preſervation prevaile over ſelfe denyall with theſe Covenanters. At which ſight, three or foure of my guards aſkd me, what that flight meant. I dealt ingenuouſlie with them, and told them, that theſe who fled, did like wiſe men and good ſubjects, in embracing the Kings Act of Grace; and in obedience of the Kings proclamation, were goeing home to their houſes; and if my guards were wiſe, they would do the like, for they wold find it wold prove their ſafeſt courſe. I found I had ſpoke more honneſtlie than prudentlie, for one of them told me I wold doe well not to uſe ſuch diſcourageing words, and that he eſteemd theſe who had diſerted their partie were baſe, perjurd, and cowards; this taught me to be more wary afterwards. I was ſhortlie after that brought to the top of a litle hill, where I might ſee all was done. When the foot of his Majeſties forces were joynd with the horſe, my guards ſeemd to be ſomthing ſollicitous of their oune ſafetie, which movd me to take the opportunitie to tell them, that they ſould ſuffer none of their oune armie to joyne with them, except theſe who were appointed to guard me, otherwiſe it might fall out that their guards, grouing numerous, might be calld doune by Wallace to fight; to which I perceavd they had bot litle ſtomacke. This advice they punctuallie followd. Then they deſird me to uſe freedome with them, and tell them what my opinion was wold be the iſſue. I did not intend in this to ſatiſfy their curioſitie, for I thought my poſſeſſing them with vaine hopes, or dejecting them with fears, might prove equallie dangerous to me. I told them that the Kings Lieutenant Generall had ſtayd ſo long on the hill, that it was not probable he wold engadge with them that night; and that he was lodged in ſo ſtrong a ground, that it was not

poſſible for the Covenanters to attack him, with any hopes of ſucceſſe.

Not long after this, the Lieutenant Generall drew doune from the hill in very good order. This my guards and I ſaw with equall joy, bot with farre different thoughts; for they told me they conceavd he wold march to Edenburgh, bot I had reaſon to be of ane other opinion. I was exceeding glad to ſee the matter brought now to a trial, at ſo great odds. I prayd heartilie for victorie to his Majeſties forces, wherof I made no kind of doubt. I knew the odds of my particular condition might be this; if the Rebells were beaten, I might probablie be ſent to ane other world that very night; bot if they were victorious, it was like I might be permitted to breath a day or tuo, and then put to death with ſome pretended forme of juſtice. We ſaw tuo gentlemen of the Kings armie try the ground on which they drew up afterwards, which they ſeemd to do exactlie. I underſtood therafter, that it was the Generall himſelfe, and Muſter maſter Generall Arnot. Both of them came ſo neere the Rebells that they could ſpeake with them, and as I afterwards underſtood, the Generall was qualified by them with the title of Epiſcopall rogue, and the Generall Muſter maſter with that of ſaucie fellow.

Whill the Kings forces were takeing up their ground, I was carryed by my guards behind the little riſeing of a ground, which hinderd me to ſee any thing. One Dandilling, a gentleman whom the Rebells had keepd priſoner with me ſixe or ſeven days, came and told me, that Mr Crukſhank the miniſter, and one Thomas Maclellan, (a young gentleman who had done me ſeverall good offices,) had beene both kild in the morning ſkirmiſh; and that he conceavd the Generall was endevoring

to gaine the wind from the rebells. This was ſeconded by the report of tuo or three more of my guards. I deſird I might be permitted to goe a litle from that place, and looke upon the Kings forces, aſſureing them I wold tell them my opinion freelie; this they granted. I ſaw the infantrie and left wing of the horſe take up their ground, for the right wing had done it before. I rejoyced to ſee them ſo numerous; and then I told my guards, that the Generall would force them to fight that very night, and that he intended to give them faire play, for he had taken onlie the halfe of the wind to himſelfe, and had left the other halfe for them; for the wind blew from the weſt.

When both parties were readie to advance, (for the rebells had changed their ground,) one Vetch, who was their pretended quarter-maſter, came and told my guards, that it was thought fitting that they and I ſould come from the hill, and ſtand behind their bodie, onlie, as he ſaid, to make a ſhow. We did ſo, bot by the way we met with Mr Welch and Mr Semple, who were goeing to take that advantage of ground which we formerlie had; and by doeing ſo, I thought both of them had provided indifferentlie well for their oune ſafetie. I ſtayd a litle with Mr Semple, who ſaid to me, "Now, Sir James, that which we have beene diſputting with you this fortnight bypaſt, ſince you were our priſoner, ſhall be decided in a very ſhort time." "It is too like," ſaid I, "bot whom blame you? If you had followd my advice, no blood bot mine had beene ſhed." We had ſome more diſcourſe, not needfull now to rehearſe.

When I ſaw the encounter wold be inevitable, and that my guards were doubtfull of the event, I thought it hie time to propone that to them which I had long premeditated, and which none of them could

at that nick of time reveale without their oune danger. My friends, ſaid I, bruſklie, " the day will be either yours or ours. If yours, I am ſtill your priſoner, and I beleeve I ſhall not be long troubled with you after your victorie. If the day proves ours, your lives and mine are in equall danger. If then the Kings forces gaine the victorie, defend you me from the violence of your partie in the flight, and I ſhall aſſure you of your lives."

To this propoſition the eight who were with me, (for the other eight had left me to my fortune,) readilie aſſented. " Then," ſaid I, " put your ſuords in your left hands, and hold up your right hands to heaven, and let both you and me ſueare the performance of our mutuall promiſes." This was preſentlie done; " And who will now ſay," ſaid I, " that I am not a Covenanter?" Not long after this, we might heare Mr Welch and Mr Semple cry out very loudlie and very often, " The God of Jacob, the God of Jacob," without adding any more. This was, becauſe they ſaw our commanded men give ſome ground; my very latlie ſuorne guards echoed the ſame words, " The God of Jacob, the God of Jacob." I aſkd them what they meant. They anſuered, Could I not ſee the Lord of Hoſtes fighting for them? I told them then very paſſionatlie, that they underſtood not their oune condition, for they might ſee that party, which they thought was beaten, rally and ſtand. They could not bot ſee the whole bodie of our foot, and left wing of our horſe, advance with much courage and in very good order, with trumpets ſounding, and drums beateing. " And in one word," ſaid I, " if your partie doe not reele, runne and fly within one quarter of ane houre, then I ſhall be contented you piſtoll me." It fell out ſo, that thogh the rebells, for their number, fought deſperatlie enough, yet it pleaſed the

Lord that they were beaten, and their horſe fled apace. Whill I thought to make uſe of this opportunitie, came Canon of Mondroget, bleeding very faſt, for wounded he was. He had profeſſed kindnes to me formerlie for ſome curteſies I had done to ſome neere friends of his; bot he told me then, that I muſt goe with him. I anſuered, that I was ſo pitifullie ill mounted that I could not ride up with him; beſides he knew I had no ſpurre allowd me, wherby I might helpe my nagge to runne. Bot he replyd, it was probable ſome of their officers might be made priſoners, and that I might helpe by exchange to relieve them; therfor forward I muſt goe, for he neither could or would leave me behind him, and tooke God to witnes, it was much againſt his will. I told him, that ſince ſure it was he could not get me forward with him as I was mounted, and his partie being routed, and himſelfe wounded, it wold be no advantage to him to kill a perſon who had never done him any injurie, whatever other crimes were layd to his charge; and with that I lookd over my ſhoulder, (for my guards ſtill forcd me to ride after him,) and ſaw our horſe purſueing eagerlie enough, and were not farre from us. Then I calld to Mondroget, and adviſd him to looke about, and ſee who was purſueing him, telling him it was now more time to ſave his oune life, then to ſeeke after ane other mans. This advice he followd by galloping away. Foure more of my guards had left me out of feare; the other foure were ſoone perſuaded to turne with me. I then commanded a drummer of mine, who had waited conſtantlie upon me, to tell any officer he met with, that I was there. He rencounterd with Alexander Cokburne, a ſervant of my Lord Duke Hammiltons, who was well armd and mounted. He came to me with much kindnes, and gave me and my priſoners, (for ſuch were now

my guards,) the word and the ſigne, and conducted me to my Lord Duke. His Grace was pleaſd to reſſave me with much civilitie and favour, and entertaind me with expreſſions of ſo much kindnes as I doe reallie acknowledge not to have deſerved. He gave order likewiſe that my priſoners ſould be kindlie uſed, till nixt day they were deliverd to the foot guards; and not long after, upon my humble ſupplication, had their lives and liberties granted them.

I was told here, that the rebells had rallyd, and that Lieutenant Generall Drummond was calling for the troopes to advance to him, and the foot to follow. I was eaſilie perſuaded to beleeve theſe news to be true, and therfor reſolved to impart them to E. Linlithgow, whom I could eaſilie find out by the burning matches of his regiment, for now the day was ſpent. My lord was afoot, and it was ſome time before the kindnes of his officers and ſojors did permit me to ſalute him. His lordſhip wellcomd me very affectionatlie, and I found he had draune up his regiment on the other ſide of the hill, where the rebells formerlie ſtood, and was there attending the motions of a partie of men, which he ſaw on the top of a hie adjoyning hill. Bot when I had given his lordſhip aſſureance that theſe he ſaw could be no other bot countrey people, in regard I knew the rebells had no reſerve; he marchd with his regiment ſtraight to the Lieutenant Generall, with much cheerfullnes and alacritie, and was immediatlie followd by E. Kellie. Bot the Lieutenant Generall haveing told me, that upon his advance with the horſe the enemie was diſperſd, both horſe and foot went to quarters that night. Nixt day I had the good fortune to meet with the Generall, Lieutenant Generall, and many lords and other perſons of qualitie, who all of them did with much kindnes and hu-

manitie congratulate my well neere diſpaird of libertie; which was very refreſhing to me, after a ſhort bot ſad tryall of the viciſſitude and inſtabilitie of humane affaires; for all which I give to God the praiſe and the glorie to whom it duelie belongs.

End of the Relation made to the Earle of Rothes, His Majeſties Hie Commiſſioner.

The Narration continues.

HEERE was ane end of the Rebellion and my impriſonment, bot not of all my miſfortunes. Thogh at my returne to Edenburgh, I found perſons of all ranks and qualities profeſſe kindnes to me, and ſeemd to be glad I had eſcapd ſo eminent a danger, yet everie man is not to be taken at his word; the thoughts and deſignes of men are knoune to none bot to him who hath keepd it as his prerogative, to know the heart. The King haveing beene perſuaded before, that no inſurrection was, or wold be intended againſt the preſent eſtabliſhed government, was eaſilie induced to beleeve that my ſeveritie, or at beſt my undiſcreet zeale, had occaſiond the commotion. Bot yet it was not time to lay this at my doore; ſomething els muſt be done before.

It muſt be rememberd, what I ſould have ſpoke of before, that about the month of Auguſt 1666, his Majeſtie haveing open warre with three dangerous enemies, France, Denmark and Holland, had, for the defence of his kingdome of Scotland, cauſd his regiment of foot guards be

made up ten companies, each to conſiſt of one hundreth men; beſides his caſtles, over whom he appointed E. Linlithgow to be Colonell, myſelfe to be Lieutenant Colonell, and Colonell Urrey to be Sergant Major. He appointed alſo Generall Dallyell to raiſe a foot regiment of ten companies; and his pleaſure was, that ten troopes of horſe, beſides the tuo which were allreadie raiſd, ſould be ſpeedilie levied, over all which forces he orderd the ſame Dallyell and Lieutenant Generall Drummond to command, the firſt in qualitie of Lieutenant Generall, and the ſecond of Major Generall.

So ſoone as I came to Edenburgh, I intreated Generall Dallyell to call a councell of warre, wherin my deportment in theſe places where I had beene, might be impartiallie examined; and if I were guiltie of theſe crimes that were publikelie talkd of, I might accordinglie be ſentencd and puniſhd; if not, that I might have ane approbation of what I had done. This was denyd me ſeverall times, in regard there was no complainer, accuſer, or accuſation againſt me. Heerupon I addreſſd myſelfe to the Privie Councell, my Lord Commiſſioner not being returnd from Court, and humblie beſeechd their Lordſhips to heare and cognoſce on any thing was ſaid, or might be ſaid againſt me. About this time, a libell was ſcatterd up and doune againſt me, wherin what blacke malice could invent or diſgorge againſt myſelfe, or any of theſe parties which had beene under my command, was ſet doune in the darkeſt dy. I anſuerd it, and all its parts, and in all its dimenſions, as I have allreadie ſaid in my Relation. I intreated the Privie Councell, ſince there was none that appeard againſt me, except a *fama claſa*, and that libell, to which none could be found to affixe his name, that the libell itſelfe, and my anſuere to it, might be examind; and

that therafter, their Lordſhips wold come to a ſentence of approbation or condemnation of my proceedings. Upon this, the Councell appointed three of their number, to wit, my Lord Bellenden, my Lord Renton, and Sir Robert Murray, late provoſt of Edenburgh, to examine the whole matter, and make a report to them. This was accordinglie done; and after my Lord Commiſſioners returne, the report was made, that till the libeller did prove his paper, I was to be juſtified in all I had done. Now the libeller, even when a yeare therafter I was brought on the ſtage, and that he had a faire time offerd him to play his game above boord againſt me, never appeard perſonallie or by proxie, by word or by writ, directlie or indirectlie. And thogh Naphtali, in his infamous booke, hath ſet doune that libell allmoſt verbatim, and will perſuade his reader that it was a true relation, and that my anſuere to it conſiſted onlie of negatives and denyalls, yet let any peruſe my anſuere, (and many copies I have given of it,) they will find Naphtali as great a liar in that, as he is in moſt of the paſſages of that booke which he wrote againſt all that are in authoritie, from the loweſt to the hieſt; for there are many things in the libell, which in my anſuere I acknowledged to be true, and that the actors of them were puniſhd by me, as haveing done things without my warrand. Many things I acknowledged to have beene done by myſelfe, for which I was warranted by my inſtructions. Many things, indeed, I abſolutlie denyed, becauſe I knew them, *ex certiſſima ſcientia*, to be lyes and calumnies. Many things were alleadged in the libell to have beene committed which, thogh true, could never have reflected on me, in regard I never heard either the actors or the crimes complaind of, till I red them, firſt in the written libell, and then in printed Naphtali.

By example, where was my fault, if any unchriſtian horſman under my command, gave the remainder and crums of their dinners to their dogs, not alloueing any of them to the children of their landlords? Or if any barbarous ſojors (who ſould have beene at church themſelvs,) did beate ſome countreymen, whom they found praying among the rockes, on the Lords day? Or if any prophane and godles trooper ſaid, he wold recommend his camerad, who was a dying, by his letter to a friend of his who was in hell, to provide him good winter quarters; how could theſe, I ſay, reflect on me, who never heard of them? Indeed, if complaints had beene made to me, and I had neglected to have puniſhd ſuch offenders, I had deſervd to have beene baniſhd out of all Chriſtian ſocietie for ever. Bot theſe things are not ſo much as mentiond in all theſe depoſitions which the yeare after were taken, and upon oath too, from all the people in Galloway and Niddſdaill, where I had quarterd; and it is not at all probable ſuch complaints wold have beene ſmotherd, where not onlie the people had a libertie, bot ane encouragement, to ſpeake what they pleaſd againſt me. Bot well may the nameles libeller, and ſhameles Naphtali write what they pleaſe, ſo long as they conceale their names, which I never did, nor intends to doe, from any thing I ever wrote in my life.

Bot the libeller is more to be excuſed than Naphtali, for the firſt had vented his libell before I was priſoner, and therfore knew not what the Rebells knew afterwards, when they had red my commiſſion, inſtructions, and all my papers at Damellintoun; where they confeſd I had not done ſo much by halfe as by my orders I might have done. They then acknowledgd, I nor my partie had not got the fourth part of the money wherwith I was charged. This the libeller, I ſay, did

not know, when he wrote his libell. Bot Naphtali could not bot know it before he wrote that impudent booke of his, being he could not bot have learned it from the rebells, his deare correſpondents. Yet wold he chooſe rather againſt truth and his oune conſcience, to grope after the libeller in the darke, then make uſe of the light he might have borroud from his oune beloved partie. What a monſtrous ſoume did they make up, no leſſe than ſeventeene thouſand pounds ſterline, that I and my parties had got in moneys, meate, quarterings and bonds; yet the depoſitions of all thoſe that ever I had ceſd or quarterd on, being exactlie taken on oath in the end of the yeare 1667, declares them impudent and ſhameles lyars; for it is yet to be ſeene in the councell office, that all which was pretended to have beene taken in three yeares time in ceſſe, quarter, meate and drinke, moneys and bonds, yea, and irregular actions and plunderings, did not exceed tuo thouſand ſeven hundreth and fiftie pounds ſterline, not the ſixth part of the libeller and Naphtalis ſoume. Bot they knew themſelvs that wrong account is no payment; bot to ſpeake truth, I thinke I have duelt too long with ſuch falſe accountants.

After this, I petitiond my Lord Commiſſioner and the Councell for ane approbation. Severall lords preſſd it with ſtrong reaſons, bot moſt ſaid, that the Councell haveing given me no commiſſion, could not judge whether I had walkd according to my inſtructions or not. Bot notwithſtanding that, I was put in hopes to obtain my deſire at that time; yet he who had given me the commiſſion by which I had acted, did nothing at all for me.

After I came out of priſon, ſo ſoone as convenientlie I could, I petitioned the Councell for theſe priſoners who had beene of my guards,

as is ſet doune in my relation. The Councell referrd the matter to the Generall, who, at my interceſſion, and their takeing the declaration, gave them their lives and liberties, and his paſſes to goe home, and I gave each of them a litle money to carry them to their houſes. One more, who had beene my intelligencer, my Lord Commiſſioner, at my humble ſute, ſavd from hanging at Aire, and therafter gave him his libertie.

After ſo pitiefull a toyle, I was adviced to purge; and this hinderd me to goe weſt with my Lord Commiſſioner, when he marchd with the forces to reduce that countrey to order; bot I folloued him ſoone after, and waited on him at Glaſgow when he came backe from Aire. Some ſixe and threttie or therby of the rebells were hangd at Edenburgh, Glaſgow and Aire. The reſt, who were above a hundreth, eſcaped one way or other. And now I appeale to Mr Naphtali himſelfe, if any of theſe ſixe and threttie ever mentioned my name in their ſpeeches at their executions, or blamd me for oppreſſion, or directlie or indirectlie inſinuated that I had occaſiond the inſurrection. None knows better then Naphtali, who hath very carefullie collected all their teſtimonies, (as he calls them,) perhaps pend the moſt of them.

Generall Dalyells foot regiment lay a while at Aire, I thinke till June 1667. The regiment of guards was appointed to march to Edenburgh; ſixe companies lay in the Canongate, and I with foure more did ly at Lieth. It was dureing the convention of eſtates, who, by his Majeſties command, were aſſembled to find out meanes to entertaine the late levied foot and horſe, which were not to be a militia very long.

Upon the eleventh of Februare, at tuelve of the clocke at night, I was calld away in haſte to Glaſgow to my wife, who had taken both a ſud-

den and a dangerous diſeaſe, which was indeed the effect of that melancholie ſhe had contracted for my impriſonment; for thogh her carriage dureing that affliction was that which became both a ſober and a chriſtian woman, yet griefe had got ſo deepe ane impreſſion in her heart, that ſhe could not overcome it, no not with my reſtoration to libertie. I ſtayd three weeks with her; and indeed all the croſſes that had ever befallen me, and the laſt one too, which was one of the greateſt, ſeemd no thing to me in compariſon of that I then ſufferd, by the ſad apprehenſion I had to be ſeparated from ſo deare and ſo precieous a yoakefellow. It pleaſd God ſhe betterd, and the phiſitians aſſureing me there was no more danger, I returnd to my charge at Lieth. Bot the very nixt day after my comeing, I was advertiſd that ſhe was fallen in a dangerous relapſe. I returnd to Glaſgow, haveing firſt cauſd ſhow my Lord Commiſſioner, the Generall, and E. Linlithgow, the cauſe of my ſudden departure. At my arriveall at Glaſgow, I found her heavilie ſicke; ſome intervalls of eaſe ſhe had, bot both few and ſhort. I ſtayd three weekes with her the ſecond time, till it pleaſd the Lord to better her condition ſo farre, that the phiſitians once more thought my longer ſtay needles. This mercy comforted me more than my late miſfortune had afflicted me.

When I came to Edenburgh in Aprile, I found the regiment of guards was removd to Fife, to defend that coaſt againſt forreine invaſion. Everie companie had a toune alloued for quarter, and mine had St Andrews. I lookd on all the companies in paſſing, before I came to St Andrews, the Archbiſhop wherof I found very ſicke of a tertian. Nothing paſt that ſummer in Scotland, of acts of hoſtilitie worthie remembrance, except that Van Gent, one of the Vice-admiralls of Hol-

land, with tuo and threttie gallant men of warre, came up the Firth; who, having ſpent to no purpoſe, above one thouſand ſhot of canon at Burnt Iland, and killd onlie one fiſher at the Weims, returnd that ſame night, haveing both wind and tide to carry him away. In Burnt Iland were my Lord Commiſſioner himſelfe, E. Linlithgow, and tuo companies of foot; a troope of horſe comeing to them ſhortlie after. At Kircaldie, was Colonell Urrey with tuo foot companies more; the other ſixe companies were with me at the Eli, a place moſt fit for them to land at. Trulie, if that Hollander had put it to the hazard to have landed his foot, which in ſo many veſſells could be no fewer then three thouſand, at any place bot where we were, I thinke in all probabilitie he might have plunderd and burnd the moſt, if not all the touns of that coaſt, the countrey not being in any kind of poſture of defence. Bot the ſame Van Gent, as they ſay, behavd himſelfe more advantageouſlie for his maſters, and more miſfortunatlie for England that ſame ſummer at Chattum. Many other alarms we had, bot they provd all falſe ones, and it was well ſo; for if we had beene handſomlie attackd, we might have had juſt reaſon to have had more then the halfe of the feare.

About Lambes of the yeare 1667, his Majeſtie haveing concluded a firme peace with all theſe neighbours of his who had made warre againſt him, to eaſe his kingdome of Scotland of the great burthen lay on it, for the maintenance of ſo great a militia, he orderd all his troopes of horſe except tuo, to be diſbanded, and Generall Dallyells regiment of foot likewiſe. In the beginning of September, he commanded three companies of the ten wherof his regiment of guards conſiſted, to be ſent to France, the Captaines therof haveing belonged formerlie to

Lord George Douglas in that kingdome. The fifteenth day of September was appointed for them to march from Enſter to Burnt Iland, to reſſave what was oueing them, and then to goe a ſhipboord. Bot moſt of the ſojors haveing ane averſion from the French ſervice, and preying on the Captaines weakenes, who were Melvill, Ritherfurd and Lieth, mutined, refuſing to march, and calling imperiouſlie for their pay. If the Captaines had beene either wiſe or liberall, they might have engadged moſt of all their ſojors to goe with them to France, by giveing each of them a croune or tuo at moſt, in hand, as levie money, and ſo both have prevented the mutinie, and carried over their companies; for the King had declard he wold force none of them to goe. Bot as avarice is the root of all iniquitie, ſo it provd heere; for the narrow hands of the Captaines loſt them both their liveliehoods and reputations. Neither did they take any courſe befitting militarie men, to compeſce the mutinie. Tuo of them fled, the third was detaind in the qualitie of a priſoner, never one of the three ever offering to draw a ſuord. The reſt of the officers ſhifted for themſelvs. The tuo that thought they had ſped well by haveing eſcapd, ſtayd at Leven and refreſhd themſelvs and horſes, at all leiſure, without ſo much as acquainting the Earle of Rothes, who was Captaine Generall, or E. Linlithgow, who was their Colonell, thogh the firſt was at Balgonie within four miles of them, the ſecond at Edenburgh; or did they ever offer to ſend to me, who was their Lieutenant Colonell, thogh they knew well enough where I might be found. They went therafter to Kircaldie, and after a breathing, one of them went to Edenburgh, and the other to my Lord Chanclor. Mellvill rencountering by chance with a ſervant of mine, wrote to me, in what condition he had left Enſter; this letter came to

a gentlemans houſe where I was, about tuelve a clocke at night. I wrote inſtantlie to Colonell Urrey, to bring E. Linlithgows companie from Kircaldie, and his oune from Diſart, with him to the Eli, where I ſould, God willing, meet him. I wrote alſo to Saint Andrews, for my oune companie to march with all haſte thither.

Nixt morning I rode to the Eli, where I found Sir George Curror ſicke and bedfaſt, bot his companie in armes and in good order, as was alſo Captaine Whites at Pittenweim. I ſent Lieutenant Leviſton of Weſtquarter, who belongd to theſe mutinous companies, to tell the mutineers that I was come to heare and redreſſe their grievances, and therfor requird them to meet me without the toune in the field. They returnd me anſuere, that for ſeverall reaſons they could not leave the toune, bot I ſould be very wellcome to come in to them. I did ſo, and was met at the entrie by threttie muſketeers, for my honor, ſaid they, to convoy me to the ſhore, where I found them all in armes, with their collors flying. I was environd round, and ſo cloſe, that I could not get my horſe movd from the place where I ſtood. I perceavd the mutinie had comd to a great heighth, for they had choſen their officers and ſpeakers, and preſented me with a petition directed to E. Linlithgow, and in his abſence, to me. I harangud them, and demonſtrated to them the ouglines and follie of this action of theirs; I cryd up their former loyaltie and ſervices, and adviſed them not to ſtaine the reputation of them by this tumultuarie and unadviſed raſhnes of theirs, which I wold not tearme mutinie, wherof I knew ſo gallant men could not be guiltie. I did not faile likewiſe to ſhow them, that I knew how to force the moſt diſobedient of them to duetie, bot hopd they wold be wiſer as to put a neceſſitie on either me, or theſe above me, to make uſe

of our pouer. I rallied and made merrie with ſome of them, and they made ſport with me; and in end, after many diſcourſes, I promiſd they ſould be payd at Burnt Iland all was duelie oueing to them, and that none of them ſould be forcd to goe a ſhipboord againſt his will. They deſird to be payd and diſbanded there where they were; this I wold by no meanes grant. Their muſkets were chargd with tuo balls at leaſt, many with three; ſome of the mutineers gave fire upon the houſes over my head. At length I commanded drums to beate, and crying, "God ſave the King," which they likewiſe did, I orderd the collors to follow me; and without more noyſe, carried them fairlie to Leven, ſeven miles from the place where they were, and the nixt day to Burnt Iland, where they were all diſarmd and diſbanded.

So ſoone as my Lord Chancellor knew of the mutinie, he wrote to E. Linlithgow to come over out of Edenburgh to appeaſe it. Strange and very ſtrange it was, he wold not write to me, who, he knew, was within foure miles of him. And as ſtrange it was in E. Lithgow, to thinke that I wold be ſo tame as to ſit ſtill and doe nothing till he came; for ſo ſoone as he arrivd at Burnt Iland, he wrote to Saint Andrews, (thinking I was there,) for me to meet him at Enſter. His letter I got on the 16th of September, at night, when I was quartering the mutineers at Leven. A drummer, who was ane Engliſhmen, and ſeven or eight more, who had beene the ringleaders of the mutinie, were ſeizd on at Burnt Iland; for I had promiſd indemnitie to none of them, neither indeed did ever any of them ſeeke it from me. Bot by a private advice from the Privie Councell, I ſuffered them all to make their eſcapes, a month or therby thereafter, out of the tolbooth of Leith.

A month and more before this mutinie, Generall Dallyell acquainted me, that E. Kellie had told him, that there was a reſolution to take my charge from me, and to give it to him. I beleeve his Lordſhip got a very rough reprimend from ſome of his friends, for not keeping his oune ſecrets better. I was apt to beleeve there was ſuch a deſigne, and therfor reſolvd rather to goe out, then to be thruſt out. I made a proffer of my charge to my Lord Kellie, provided I might be Major, and Colonell Urrey eldeſt Captaine, as we had formerlie beene. My Lord had good reaſon to thanke me for ſo kind ane offer. In the meane time, I movd my Lord Chancellor to write ſomething of it to E. Lauderdaill; who returnd him anſuere, that he had never heard of any ſuch thing before.

Sir Robert Murray, Privie Counſellor and Commiſſioner of the Treaſurie, told me, much about that time, that the King haveing heard ſome grieveous complaints of me, intended to order his Privie Councell to examine the matter. I told him, I wonderd any complaint ſould come to the King of me, ſince none was made to the Councell, to whom it properlie belonged, to take notice of ſuch affaires; it not being ordinarie to runne directlie to the King, *per ſaltum*, in contempt of that authoritie which he had eſtabliſhed in Scotland. He anſuerd, the King did in theſe things as he pleaſd. I ſaid, I thought it very ſtrange, I was not brought ſooner on the ſtage, it being now neere a tuelvemonth ſince I came out of priſon. He gave me indeed a reaſon, which hugelie increaſd my admiration. So long, ſaid he, as the armie ſtood, you were too ſtrong for your accuſers, neither durſt they be ſeene againſt you; bot now, that the forces, for moſt part, are diſbanded, the Councell may take notice of you with leſſe trouble. I replyd, that

then I had beene miſtaken formerlie, in thinking that the armie wold rather have aſſiſted juſtice to be adminiſterd, then have given any obſtruction to it; and with that we parted.

Meane while E. Kellies friends thought it fit he ſould gett me to ratifie under my hand the proffer I had made him, which, they thought, being bot verball, I might avouch or deny as I pleaſed. I reſolvd they ſould ſee I was a man of my word; and therfor immediatlie, by way of letter, made my former offer, and that without any heſitation. My letter was ſent to Court, and inſtantlie his Majeſties order came to the Councell, to ſee E. Kellie admitted Lieutenant Colonell, and Colonell Urrey and myſelfe returne to our former charges; which was accordinglie done, in preſence of my Lord Bellenden and Sir Robert Murrey, in the ſands of Lieth, the 2d of November, 1667.

I thought, by this addreſſe of mine, I had conjurd away the ſtorme prettie well; bot I had caſt up a wrong account, for a letter from the King, of the date of the 17th of November, came to the Councell, in which, among other things, he commands their lordſhips to call me before them, to examine my deportments ſtrictlie, and what moneys I had exacted, and make a report of all to his Majeſtie. The Councell appoints a committee of nine of their number, which conſiſted of the principall councellors, foure or five wherof were of the long robe. At this time, neither my Lord Chancellor nor E. Tweeddaill were comd from Court. I am brought before this committee, and once I intended to have pleaded, that I could not be accuſd of any thing I had done dureing the time I was Lieutenant Colonell, being his Majeſties conferring the new charge of Major upon me inſinuated a pardon of any crime I formerlie could have beene guiltie of; bot I reſolvd not to claſh

with the King in any thing, much leſſe to quible in a buſienes which concernd myſelfe ſo very neare.

The Committee was civill to me; the Preſident of the Seſſion being choſen Preſident, cauſd offer me a chaire, which I abſolutlie refuſed, being, I ſaid, I was before them in the qualitie of a defender, and they were the repreſentatives of my judges. They inquired, which of the tuo I thought moſt convenient to be done, in order to his Majeſties commands; whether to referre the matter to my oune relation, which they hopd wold be ingenuous, or if they ſould ſend one of their oune chooſing to Niddſdaill and Galloway, to aſſiſt ſuch gentlemen of that countrey as the Councell ſould impouer, to take depoſitions againſt me. I freelie told them, the ſhorteſt way wold be to take my oune relation, which I promiſd ſould be a faithfull one; for I wold acknouledge the reſſait of as much as all the depoſitions they could get wold amount to; and after the concluſion of the whole buſienes, they both found and acknouledged that to be true, what I then told them. Bot at this time they reſolvd both to take my relation, and ſend one from themſelvs alſo; for it ſeemes they thought it was good to be ſure. Mr James Thomſone, a commiſſare and ane exchequer man, was deſird to goe; bot he refuſed the employment, ſaying he wold not ſo badlie requite the favours he pretended to have reſſaved from me. Bot ane other was quicklie found, for fifteene ſhillings ſterline *per diem*, one Buntein, ane under cleark of the exchequer. Him they diſpatch with all neceſſare orders and inſtructions. This act of councell, to invite, deſire, nay, conſtraine men to complaine, hath had, for any thing I know, bot few or no precedents. My firſt compeareance was on the 27th of November, and Buntein was orderd to returne againſt the firſt of Januare 1668.

I defird libertie till then, to goe and ſtay at Glaſgow with my wife, who was then ſicke, which was fairlie granted me. Nixt day I rode thither, where indeed I found my deare wife, (who had had bot litle health all that ſummer, and whom I had not ſeene in eight months before,) ſicke of a lent feaver. About Chriſtmas, ſhe being ſomewhat convaleſced, I tooke my leave of her, and returned to Edenburgh, there to waite for Buntein, of whoſe motions, actings and practiſes againſt me, I had ſufficientlie good intelligence; and both he, and theſe who ſent him, did find I was not ſo hated as they had fancied, bot had acquird the affection of the beſt and honneſteſt of the gentrie, who faild not to let me know all that paſſd wherin they conceavd I might be concernd. At my comeing to Edenburgh, I found by the committee of the councell, that Buntein pretended he had not yet done all his buſienes, thogh the time prefixed to him was well neere expired. It is like he defird the continuation of his daylie ſalarie of fifteene ſhillings ſterline; and I found the committee was not averſe to allow him it for a longer time, perhaps thinking the longer time they gave him, the greater feats he wold be able to doe againſt me. Bot his ſtrength was ſpent, and he came backe in the beginning of Januare. I muſt not forget to tell, how the gentlemen, who were deputed by the Councell for takeing depoſitions againſt me or my partie, did examine all or moſt on oath; a thing in itſelfe illegall, at leaſt ſeldome or never practiſd, for a mans oath in his oune cauſe proves nothing; yet this theſe gentlemen did, not without my private aſſent, for I found a benefite by it; the malice of many of the phanaticks being ſuch, as they wold have declard any thing againſt me, or theſe under my command, if they had not beene reſtraind by the dreadfull awe of ane oath.

After the Committee had ſeene and peruſed all the declarations and depoſitions which Buntein had brought, one of them (whom I need not name,) drew up fifteene grieveances of illegall and diſavouable proceedings of mine, all of them grounded, as they ſaid, upon theſe declarations. This monſtrous paper of grieveances was a month a hatching; then I was ſent for, and deſird to anſuere them. I told the lords, that theſe declarations, on which the grieveances were pretended to be grounded, muſt be all legallie proven, els they could doe me no hurt. Bot leaſt their Lordſhips ſould thinke, that I tooke advantage of the impoſſibilitie of that probation, (for no witneſſes could be led againſt me bot theſe who were *socii criminis*,) I was readie to take the paper and anſuere it, provided they gave me time, and I deſird a month. Bot Sir Robert Murrey told me, that it being now in Februare, and the Lords to goe to the countrey in the beginning of March, the ordinarie time of vacancie, ſo long a time could not be alloued me; yet all or moſt conſented to a fortnight. I defired to have the declarations or depoſitions given me, that I might ſee how cleerlie the grieveances were deduced from them; bot I was told, I ſould have acceſſe to the Councell Chamber where theſe papers were keepd, bot they could not ſuffer them to be carried elſwhere. I thought this was ſevere, not to give it a worſe name; bot I did not value much this refuſeall, for I had a perfite copie of them all ſent me by my friends, which I reſſaved before Buntein arrivd at Edenburgh with the principall.

Before the fortnight came to ane end, E. Tweeddaill returnd from Court; his Lordſhip was appointed to be ane additionall member of my committee. The time prefixd to me being expird, I appeard; where I found E. Tweeddaill, after debate, voted to preſide. He did not for-

beare to exerce that charge with vigour enough, yet with very much diſcretion and civilitie, which ſueetned the bitter pill I knew I was to ſuallow; for I perceavd that thogh by not acknouledging myſelfe guiltie, I ſould ſave my reputation a litle, yet in the end I muſt ſuccumbe; for the promiſe of my charge to E. Kellie told me I was precondemned. I gave in my anſuers, which were read and heard attentivelie enough; bot ſome of them relateing to my commiſſion and inſtructions, I was deſird to ſhow them to the Committee. I told them, that which was true, that I had neither of them, for when the rebells tooke myſelfe, they tooke alſo them and all my other papers. And indeed, when I was firſt queſtiond, I was not maſter of them, thogh afterwards, with much paines and trouble, and the pouerfull mediation of moneys, I got them againe in my hands. The reaſon I wold not ſhow them was, that I feard matter of complaint might be pickd out of them, which wold not at all ſave me; and this I was ſenſible enough of, that the ſhowing them might wrong my Lord Chancellor, and doe me no good; for I was told that I was lyable to puniſhment for giveing obedience to illegall commands. I was queſtiond therafter about ſome particulars of my written defences, as alſo concerning tuo written declarations given in againſt me by tuo malitieous and infamous perſons, not without the inſtigation of my Lord Cochran, one of my committee, and conſequentlie one of my judges; which declarations I might eaſilie have repeld, by telling the Lords that I wold anſuere none of them, till the baſe accuſers undertooke to prove them, which was purlie impoſſible. Bot to them and all other interrogatories, I gave ſuch returns as were interpreted, even by theſe who were none of my beſt friends, to be moderate, ſubmiſſe, ingenuous and can-

dide; and indeed I was informed, ſome of them ſaid I had given a full demonſtration I was not the man I was caracterd to be, proud, paſſionate, haſtie and furieous. And yet I confeſſe, my humour never was, nor is not yet, one of the calmeſt; when it will be, God onlie knoues; yet by many ſad paſſages of my life, I know that it hath beene good for me to be afflicted. By this teſtimonie of theirs I was a gainer, thogh I loſd my charge. I was deſird to tell them extemporarlie, how much the free quarter, meate and drinke, bonds and money, exacted by me and my parties, the three ſeverall times I was in Galloway, might extend to. I told their lordſhips, I knew well enough that the depoſitions of all parties concerned, in which were ſet doune plunderings, did not exceed three and threttie thouſand pounds Scots; of that I could abate, even in their oune judgments, five thouſand pounds; neither was I bound to acknouledge the reſt, for it could never be made out againſt me; yet to eaſe their lordſhips of further trouble, and ſhow them my oune ingenuitie, I wold charge myſelfe with threttie thouſand pounds. They openlie declard that they thought I had ſpoke ſo ingenuouſlie, that more could not be chargd upon me. Where are then the ſeventeene thouſand pounds ſterline wherwith the infamous libeller and nameles Naphtali charge me? Haveing beene keepd by the Committee above foure houres, I was diſmiſd; and indeed I will ſay, that the whole time of my tryall I was dealt with as a gentleman; for they never offerd to impriſon, arreſt or bayle me, or yet did ever command me to forbeare the exerciſe of my charge, for I . . . . . on my command, till the very laſt minute that I layd doune my commiſſions.

My buſienes now drauing neere a cloſe, a report was draune up, to be ſent to his Majeſtie by one of the members of the Committee, (whom

I need not name ;) and as to the reſt, ſome of them got ſome harſh words expungd, and made the report ſomething ſmoother, as indeed at beſt it was bot bad enough. The day it was to be red in the Privie Councell, I petitiond their lordſhips that I might be permitted to ſee it, before it was ſent to the King. This many of the Lords thought very modeſt and moſt reaſonable; others wold not heare it, alledging, it was to lay the Committee and me in a ballance, and to make them my partie, and conſequentlie ſend them all to the barre as well as me. The matter for a while was well enough debated, bot carried in the negative, and declard I ſould not ſee the report till it was ſent away. Bot to pleaſe me, they orderd, after it was off, a copie of it to be given me, and ſo indeed there was one nixt day in the afternoone, when I beleeve the poſt of the principall was the length of Morpeth. Before I proceed further, it will be fit to give a true copie of the Report, by which the fifeteene grieveances, wherwith I was formerlie charged, are not onlie ſet doune in baſe caracters, bot are convoyd to the King with ſixe more to accompany them.

A true Copie of the Report ſent to his Majeſtie concerning me, from Edenburgh the nineteeneth of Februare 1668.

The Lords of his Majeſties Councell did no ſooner reſſave his Majeſties commands, in his gracious letter of the tuentie one of November laſt, for takeing exact examination of Sir James Turners deportment in the weſt, bot they orderd and impouerd a Committee of their number to inquire diligentlie into them; and by their Report it appears, that,

upon information from the Stewartrie of Kirkcubright, given in upon oath of parties, or their maſters, or their neighbours, many illegall exactions have beene made, and diſorders committed. Such as, Firſt, quartering of ſojors for levieing fines and impoſitions. Secondlie, Exacting ceſſe for quartering money for more ſojours then were actuallie preſent, ſomtimes for double the number or more, (and that beſides free quarter for theſe preſent,) ſometimes 8 pence, ſometimes tuelve pence, ſometimes 16 pence, and ſometimes more, for each man. 3°. Ceſſe exacted for diverſe dayes, ſometimes for eight, ten, or more, before the partie did actuallie appeare. 4°. Impoſeing of fines, and quartering, without any previous citation, or heareing of parties. 5°. Fineing without due information from miniſters. 6°. Fineing ſuch as livd orderlie, as appeares by miniſters teſtificates. 7°. Fineing and ceſſing for cauſes for which there are no warrands from acts of parliament or councill; as firſt, baptiſeing of children by outed miniſters; ſecondlie, baptiſeing by neighbouring miniſters, where the pariſh church is vacant; thirdlie, for marrying by outed miniſters; fourtlie, for keeping conventicles. 8°. Fineing for whole years preceeding his comeing to the countrey, and that after they had begun to live orderlie. 9°. Fineing fathers for their daughters baptiſeing children by outed miniſters, thogh foriſſamiliate ſix months before, and liveing in another pariſh. 10°. Fineing without proportionating the ſoume with the fault. 11°. Fineing whole pariſhes promiſcuouſlie, as well thoſe that lived orderlie as theſe that did not. 12°. Fineing whole pariſhes where there was no incumbent miniſter. 13°. Fineing one that lay a yeare bedfaſt. 14°. Forceing bands from innocent people. 15° Ceſſing of people that were not fyned. 16°. Takeing away cattle and other goods. All theſe acts

are illegall miſdemeanors. Of other kinds there are, 17°. Agreeing for ceſſe and fines both in one ſoume, wherby accounts were confounded. 18°. Not admitting complainers who were ceſd upon, to come to his preſence; alleadged to have beene his conſtant cuſtome. 19°. Permitting his ſervants to take money for admitting people to him, and yet acceſſe denyd. 20°. Increaſeing the number of quartering ſojours after complaints. 21°. Exacting of moneys for removeing of ſojors after ceſſe and fynes were payd.

Everie one of the forgoeing articles is made out by information upon oath, which yet doth not amount to a legall proofe; which, in moſt of theſe caſes, will be difficult if not impoſſible to obtaine, in regard that no witneſſes can be had that are not lyable to exception, unles by examineing officers, ſojors and ſervants, which wold take up much time and labour.

Sir James Turners defences as to ſuch of the forgoing articles as he acknouledged, are commiſſions and inſtructions from the then Lord Commiſſioner, for quartering to raiſe fines, for fineing ſuch who forbore goeing to church, or married or baptiſed by outed miniſters, or keepd conventicles; and that upon the delation of credible perſons, and to preferre them to theſe of miniſters. Bot he doth affirme, all his commiſſions and inſtructions were taken by the rebells, when he was made priſoner, and ſo hath nothing to ſhow for his vindication. And for all the other heads above written, he either denys matter of fact, aſcribes the tranſactions to others, or pleades ignorance.

The ſoumes of money reſſaved for fines and ceſſe, and bonds taken, he acknouledged to have amounted to be threttie thouſand pounds ſcots. The ſoumes charged on him by the countrey, beſides quartering,

comes to about threttie eight thouſand pounds Scots; wherin is not reckond what was exacted from any of thoſe who roſe in rebellion, and ſome pariſhes in Galloway from whence no information was returned.

And as to his ſurpriſall, he ſayth, Firſt, he had bot ſixtie ſixe foot in theſe parts under his command. Secondlie, that they were all diſperſed throw the countrey about the fines, ſo that there was not ſo many left with him as to keepe guard at his lodgeing, nay, not ſo much as one, ſome nights before. Thirdlie, that he had no order to keepe a guard about him, or to fortifie himſelfe, thogh there be a ſtrong houſe within the toune called the Caſtell, to which he might have retired with ſome thretteene ſojouris that came in that night before he was taken. Fourthlie, that he had intelligence there was a riſeing in the countrey; and that a corporall of his was ſhot, who told him that there were divers perſons got together, who had intelligence from the north of a riſeing there, with ane intention to march to the citadell of Aire, and to ſeize it and the armes which had beene taken from the countrey. Fifthlie, that about midnight, he wrote to George Maxwell of Munches. Sixthlie, he ſent orders to ſome more of his ſojours to meet him the nixt morning, intending towards Newgalloway, where the riſeing was reported to be. Seventhlie, that he roſe about ſixe of the clocke that morning, bot being indiſpoſed, lay doune againe, and being up in his goune about eight a clock, he was ſurrounded and taken.

This is all that can be expected for his Majeſties preſent information concerning Sir James Turner. As to what further concerns the money he intromitted with, it may be lookd after, according to the way his Majeſtie ſhall appoint.

End of the Report.

The ſending away of this Report to the King without permitting me to ſee it, was the hardeſt meaſure I met with the whole time of my tryall, and perhaps is ane action that wants a precedent. I wrote ane anſuere to that Report, and everie article of it, and that ſo ingenuouſlie and candidlie that I could, to verifie the truth of it, goe to death. Bot finding it was in vaine to ſhow it to the Councell, now that the buſienes was out of theirs, and in the Kings hands, and feareing, if I ſould ſend it to Court, either no uſe, or a bad uſe ſould be made of it, I onlie ſhew it to ſome of my friends. The copie of it follows.

My Anſuere to the Report.

The Report which the honourable Committee made to the Lords of his Majeſties Privie Councell, and which their Lordſhips ſent to his Majeſtie concerning me, had nothing in it on their parts bot truth, neither enterd it ever in my ſecreteſt thoughts to queſtion the veritie of it; I meane ſtill, on their part; for they bot reported theſe things that were alleadged againſt me, and many of them ſuorne by the parties. Bot becauſe their lordſhips in that Report affirme, that no legall proofe was got, or could poſſiblie be obtained, I ſhall beg libertie ſhortlie, bot verie ingenuouſlie, to anſuere everie article of that Report.

1°. The firſt I acknouledge to be true, and was warranted for it by the fourth article of my inſtructions, dated the 6th of March, 1666.

2°. I abſolutlie deny, that I ever gave order, permitted or connivd at any ſuch exactions, neither was there ever any complaints of that nature brought to me; and the contrare of this, I ſay, will never be provd. My anſuere to the 7th and 8th grieveances cleers it fullie.

3°. I deny that ever any ſuch thing was done by my order or connivence; and if it was done at all, it hath beene by ſecret tranſactions betueene the parties and the ſojors, without my knouledge; neither was ever any ſuch thing complaind of, as is more fullie containd in my anſuere to the fixth grieveance.

4°. The fourth I grant to be true, as being obliged to it by my orders, as appeareth by the formentiond fourth article of my inſtructions. Neither, indeed, was it poſſible to uſe any ſuch previous citation or formall proceſſe, nor was it needfull, the moſt of the parties acknouledging guilt.

5°. Miniſters could not give due information of conventicle keepers; and I was obliged by my commiſſion to ceſſe upon, and fyne ſuch without the miniſters, the thing being made cleere to me otherwiſe, as more fullie appeares in my anſuere to the third and fifth grieveances.

6°. It neither can or ever will be provd, that I fynd or ceſd on any that livd orderlie. As to the miniſters teſtificates, tuo inſtances were given in the grieveances, the one of Keirick pariſh, which perhaps may be true, thogh I do not at all remember either the thing or the pariſh. The other is of Irongray, to which I ſhall ſpeake in my anſuere to the ninth article. To both I ſay now, I was not obliged to regard teſtificats from neither miniſter or other man, after ſubſcrived liſts were given me, as appeares by the fourth article of my inſtructions.

7°. The ſeventh article is ſubdivided in foure. To the firſt I anſuere, I granted I did ſo, and was warranted for it by the firſt article of my orders, dated the 9th of May, 1666. To the ſecond I ſay, it is a meere calumnie, for I exhorted all who had no miniſter of their oune, to goe to the nixt adjacent church, both for heareing the word, and getting

the benefite of the ſacraments; and never hinderd or diſchargd any, provided the miniſter who officiated was conforme; if not, I could not permit it, being orderd to the contrare in the formentiond firſt article of my orders, dated the 9th of May, 1666. The third I grant, being warranted to it by the formentiond articles of my inſtructions. The fourth I grant, being warranted by the third article of my inſtructions, dated the 6th of May, 1666.

8°. I grant I did ſo with ſome wicked, malitieous and obſtinate contemners, whom the biſhops and miniſters gave me in their liſts, for I was to be ruld by them for the time when I beganne to ceſſe. Bot aſſuredlie I find none whom they declared to have begunne to live orderlie; for they thought it not enough that ſome, at my approch to them, declared they wold keepe the church afterward. Bot with whom the miniſters were ſatiſfied, ſo was I too. Bot neither they nor I were ſatiſfied with the hipocriticall carrieage of one of the worſt of men, Steuart of Cullgruff, for whoſe ſake this article is foyſted in.

9°. The honorable Committee hath put in this article, upon a moſt unjuſt and falſe information. It is the buſienes of Irongray. Firſt, it was no baptiſme, bot a marriage. Secondlie, the woman was not foriſfamiliated. Thirdlie, ſhe livd in her fathers houſe, and not in ane other pariſh. Fourthlie, the wedding dinner was keepd in her fathers houſe. Fifthlie, ſhe was married by a nonconformiſt, haveing refuſed to be married by tuo conformiſts, who livd neerer her father then the other did. And this I was not to ſuffer, by the whole ſeries of my inſtructions; yet that there was ſome ſeveritie uſed in that buſienes, I doe ingenuouſlie confeſſe.

10°. To the tenth I ſay, if I did not proportionate the ſoume to the

fault, it was done in favour of the partie, in not exacting ſo great a fine as his fault deſerved; that ever I exceeded, is a groundles calumnie will never be proved, the contrare being acknouledgd by the phanatikes themſelvs; and it is knoune, that at moſt, I never from the greateſt tranſgreſſor exacted the halfe of the fines.

11°. This eleventh article was the firſt grieveance, and the tuo inſtances of the pariſhes of Kirkcunzon and Anwith, will be ſo farre from proveing it, that they demonſtrate the contrare. And the Earle of Niddſdaill, who had once the greateſt ſhare of the firſt, and Sir Alexander Mackulloch, who hath the greateſt intereſt in the laſt, will teſtifie the contrare. I quarterd indeed on ſeverall perſons of theſe pariſhes, bot upon none bot deficients, as more fullie appears in my anſuere to the firſt grieveance.

12°. I never find a whole pariſh, bot I grant I find ſome deficients in ſeverall pariſhes where there were no incumbents; becauſe they went not to the nixt churches where conforme miniſters were, which they were bound to doe by the Act of Councell 1662.

13°. If the thretteenth article be provd, I ſhall acknouledge myſelfe to be voyd both of chriſtianitie and of humanitie; I have ſpoke to it fullie in my anſuere to the eleventh grieveance.

14°. I never forcd a bond from any, much leſſe from innocent people; if any have accuſd me of it, they were bound by law to prove it, which is purlie impoſſible

15°. I acknouledge I ceſd on many whom I find not. It was upon promiſe of future obedience, and this I had power to doe by the third article of my inſtructions, dated the 9th of May, 1666. Bot I had no power to abate any thing of the ſojors ceſſe, which the Councell had

alloued them ; bot, good God ! could any man have thought, that any favour I did theſe people, wold have appeard againſt me under the notion of a grieveance.

16°. Such things were never done by my order, and when I knew the ſojors had done it, I reſtored the cattle and puniſhed the ſojors.

17°. This was ſometimes done, at the earneſt intreatie of the deficients, as ane eaſe to them ; nor were accounts therby confounded, for I payd the ſojors their ceſſe duelie, and keepd the reſt for fine, as is more fullie ſet doune in anſuere to the eighth grievance.

18°. I never all my life refuſd to admit people to me who had buſienes with me, unles I have beene ſicke. And my indiſpoſition that ſummer was ſo frequent, that it is well enough knoune that, betueene the 20th of March and the middle of November, I was ſeven times let blood ; and ſo this grievance ſignifies litle, beſides that it is falſe.

19°. I remember, ſome complaind that my ſervants tooke money to admit people to me ; bot I beleeve, never one of them ſaid that I permitted them to doe ſo, ſo the article is very ill worded. Beſides, if my ſervants did ſo, they had neither command, permiſſion or connivance from me. I onlie ſhall ſay, it will be hard, if not impoſſible, for any man that is in publick truſt or charge, to anſuere for all their ſervants eſcapes of that nature.

20°. If the article be meand, that the more obſtinate the deficient was, the more ſojors I quarterd on him, then it is true ; if otherwiſe, it is moſt falſe, neither will it ever be provd true ; in that ſence the article holds it out.

21°. If this laſt article be provd, I ſhall be infamous ; yet ſuch things being ſo frequentlie ſpoke of in the depoſitions, and chargd upon ſome

under my command, bot never upon myſelfe, I am apt to beleeve that ſome under me have abuſd both the people and me, bot none ever haveing complaind of it, I could not redreſſe it.

As to what is ſpoke in the Report of what I ſaid for my oune juſtification, I wiſh all I ſaid to everie grieveance had beene mentiond, as well as what I was accuſd of. They are yet extant in the Councell Chamber.

The Report ſayth, I acknouledgd 30,000 lb. Scots for quarter ceſſe moneys and bonds, and ſo I did. It ſayth, moreover, that 38,000 lb. was charged on me by the countrey for ceſſe moneys and bonds, beſides free quarter. Heere I am bound to animadvert to tuo things. Firſt, there is a fallacie, for 38,000 lb. was chargd on me in the firſt examination by the Maſter of Herreis and Baldoun; which was ſo groſſe and ouglie, that the Councell thought it not fitting to take up their meaſures by it, bot examind me upon the ſecond report brought in by Buntein, which exceeded not 33,000 pound Scots, in which alſo was ſet up the ſojors plunderings. Secondlie, that which the Councells Report calls free quarter, the countrey people calls ceſſe; and ſo free quarter and ceſſe are all one, which the Report ſeems to diſtinguiſh very diſadvantageouſlie for me. As to what I tooke from thoſe that were in the rebellion, it was bot litle; bot it was not forgot to be given up by their friends to Buntein, which is obvious in many places of his papers.

For my ſurpriſall, I have no more to ſay bot what I have ſaid allreadie; bot the penner of the Report hath miſtaken himſelfe in theſe particulars. I never ſaid I could fortifie myſelfe in that ſtrong houſe, (as he calls it) or Caſtle of Drumfries. If I had had intelligence of the rebells comeing, I wold have endeavord to defend the bridge, and not

a houſe, which could not be made defenſible bot in a long time. Secondlie, I had no intelligence that there was any rifeing in the countrey, otherwiſe I wold not have ſtayd in Drumfreis. The ſhooting of my corporall onlie alarmd me. Thirdlie, my letter to Munches, was, that he, as ſtewart depute, wold looke after theſe rogues who had ſhot my corporall; this is in my defences, bot omitted in the report. Fourthlie, the intelligence I had of a riſeing in the north, was not at all to be truſted till further inquirie; neither did I ever ſay, that I had heard the north countrey people intended to have taken the citadell of Aire. That ſould have beene done by the weſt countrey men, if by any.

So ends my Anſuere to the Report.

Ten dayes, if I remember right, after the Report was to Court, namelie, on the ſeventh of March, my Lord Chancellor arrivd at Edenburgh. He was met with hundreths of the nobilitie, gentrie, burgeſſes and ſoldierie. E. Linlithgow orderd me to reſſave the word from him. He gave it me very publicklie, without any ceremonie, which made many thinke the King had continued him Captaine Generall; bot my nixt nights ſeekeing it from him cleerd the matter, for he told me that he was obliged to thanke my Lord Linlithgow for his civilitie, and that he had accepted of it the firſt night, in regard he knew it was done to honor him; bot haveing layd doune his commiſſion of Generall at Court, he wold not pretend to give the watch word any more.

That very night my Lord Chanclor came, arrivd a poſt who brought a letter from the King to the Councell, in which he orderd them to call me before them, and in his name to command me to lay

doune his commiſſions which he had given me, and to call me to ane account for what moneys I had reſſaved; and what I was found to be juſtlie owing, to take it from me, and to put it to ſuch pieous uſes as they thought fitting. This was the reſult of the Report. On the tenth of March, a macer was ſent to the withdrauing roome privatlie, to deſire me to goe into the Councell; for the Lords were pleaſd to uſe me with ſo much reſpect, as not to ſuffer the macer to call publicklie for me, or to ſuffer any to enter with me, thogh both in ſuch caſes be ordinarie. Being at the barre, my Lord Chancellor told me what his Majeſties pleaſure was. I had fullie reſolvd before with myſelfe, to vindicate his Majeſties juſtice by takeing ſome guilt upon me; for beſides that I thought all loyall ſubjects ſould doe ſo, I had reaſon to imagine, if I ſould plead not guiltie, I might be uſd ſeverlie enough. I had therefore premeditated what to ſay, which I utterd in theſe, or the like expreſſions.

My Speech to my Lord Chancellor, and the Privie Councell, when I layd doune my Commiſſions, the tenth of March, 1668.

My Lord Chanclor,

If ever it had beene in my pouer, as it was allways in my deſires, to have done the King any acceptable peece of ſervice, I ſould never have beene ſo vaine as to have valued it at a hier rate, then the paying a part, and bot a part, of that duetie I owed to his Majeſtie. Yet let my endeavors be what they wold, they provd ſtill unſucceſſfull. Bot a greater miſfortune then that hath befallen me. I have done the King diſſervice, for which I have deſervd a ſevere cenſure; and certainlie

my crime is ſo much the greater, that I have offended ſo good and ſo gracieous a maſter; yet, my lord, give me leave to ſay, that I never wickedlie, malicieouſlie, or intentionallie wrongd his ſervice. Some things were irregularlie done by theſe under my command; bot becauſe I did not know them all, I could not advert to them all. Bot ſome things were done by myſelfe, which I do not offer now to juſtifie, bot ſhall acknouledge that his Majeſtie might have proceeded with much rigour againſt me, and yet not have exceeded the bounds and limits of juſtice. Bot he hath beene gracieouſlie pleaſd to incline rather to clemencie than ſeveritie.

My lord, I am not indeed now ſo able to ſerve the King in any militarie imployment as formerlie I have beene. My bodie with yeares and toyle is become craſie, and my ſpirit with ſome ſad croſſes and afflictions is brought low; bot in what condition ſoever I ſhall heerafter be, my loyaltie to the King ſhall accompany me to my grave, and it ſhall be my inceſſant prayer to heaven, that his Majeſtie may live long, to raigne with his accuſtomd goodnes glorieouſlie and happilie over us.

My lord, ſome foure yeares ſince, his Majeſtie gave me a commiſſion to be a Major of his guards of foot; a yeare and a halfe agoe, and ſome more, I got a commiſſion to be Lieutenant Colonell of theſe guards. In November laſt, the Earle of Kellie was appointed to be Lieutenant Colonell, and I againe Major; for this laſt charge I had no commiſſion, bot acted by vertue of the Kings letter to the Councell. The tuo commiſſions are heere; which, as I reſſaved with much joy and gladnes, as teſtimonies of his Majeſties undeſerved favour touards me, ſo I doe now moſt willinglie and cheerfullie, without any reluctancie,

yet with all imaginable ſubmiſſion and humilitie, returne them backe.

So ended my Speech.

My Lord Chancellour haveing given me a ſigne to remove, nothing els was ſaid to me then; perhaps the lords thought there was enough ſaid at one time. I was therafter orderd to give in my accounts to the Cleark Regiſter, Hatton and Nithrie, or any tuo of them; and the 8th day of Aprile (which was nixt Councell day,) was indulged to me to make them readie. I went to Glaſgow, and at my returne a day or tuo ere the Councell met, I deliverd my accounts to my Lord Regiſter and Nithrie. After they had peruſd them in the Councellhouſe, I was calld in and deſird to ſigne them; which I did, and atteſted them to be true according to my beſt memorie and judgment; and ſo I was diſmiſſd by them. When the Councell day came, I was inquired privatelie, whether I wold ſweare that theſe accounts were juſt or not. This I peremptorilie refuſd, for, haveing loſd my memorialls and papers, I might eaſilie erre in ſome particulars, and ane oathe ſould be taken in judgment, truth and righteouſnes. Upon this anſuere, my Lord Regiſter reſolves to give them in to the Councell as they were. They were publikelie red there by their clearke; a copie wherof follows.

My Accounts given in to the Privie Councell the eighth day of Aprile, 1668.

My Lords,

The accounts that are charged on me, and the ſeverall parties of

horſe and foot under my command, by the ſhyre of Niddiſdaill and ſteuartrie of Kirkcubright, extended, as I reckoned, to nine and tuentie thouſand and ſome odd hundreths of pounds Scots, thogh I know ſome will have them to amount to 33,000 lb. Scots; yet in my anſuere to the abbreviation of the Report, they did not exceed eight and tuentie thouſand pounds. Bot when I was deſired by the honorable Committee of the Privie Councell, to declare ingenuouſlie what I thought the ſoldiers ceſſe, and the fines I exacted in bonds and moneys might amount to, my anſuere was, that they never could exceed threttie thouſand pounds; and therfor I ſhall be contented the ſoume ſhall be calld ſo, thogh I am very ſure it will never be provd to be ſo.

I am now to divide that ſoume in ceſſe, in bonds, and moneys. As to the ceſſe, it wold be conſiderd, that the ſecond time I was in Galloway, anno 1665, (for the firſt time I meddled with neither ceſſe nor fine) I ſtayd tuo months; and the third time, which was anno 1666, I ſtayd full eight months, which makes in all ten months. It is impoſſible for me to give a preciſe account of what my ſoldiers reſſaved in ceſſe, which is, (as they call it there) 8d. *per diem*, and in meate and drinke, (which they call free quarter) 4d. *per diem*; in all tuelve pence *per diem* for everie foot ſojor, and halfe a croune a day for each horſman. Bot I ſhall offer to your lordſhips conſideration, that it can not be juſtlie or rationallie thought that the foot ſojors exhauſted leſſe then three pounds ſterline everie day, that is to ſay, alloueance for threeſcore men, which was bot halfe my partie of foot; for thogh ſometimes I had none at all on ceſſe, which was bot ſet doune, ſometimes not above the third part, yet ordinarilie, I had the moſt of my partie quarterd on deficients, and ſometimes all of them; as it happend,

when I was ſurpriſd at Drumfreis; ſo that, *communibus diebus*, I may moſt juſtlie reckon the ceſſe of the foot ſoldiers to be three pound ſterline a day; *Inde*, for ten months, upwards of nine hundreth pounds ſterline moneys; and it is undenyable, bot the ceſſes of the ſeverall parties of the horſe which I employed, extended to much more then one hundreth pounds ſterline. Let then the ceſſe, which the ſoldiers of horſe and foot got, wherof I might not defraud them, (haveing had pouer onlie to qualifie the fines,) be reckond to one thouſand pounds ſterline, which I ſhall eaſilie prove to be farre below that, which they got in money, meate and drinke.

The bonds which I deliverd to Mr Alexander Keith, and ſome inconſiderable ones, which were taine from me when I was made priſoner, I reckon to amount to thretteene thouſand mearks.

It will then inevitablie follow, that I have reſſaved of fines, no more in money then fourteene thouſand mearks; and I doe averre, that more then that, if ſo much, was never reſſavd by me, nor any in my name, and the contrare of what I now affirme ſhall never be proved. What is becomd then of all theſe monſtrous ſoumes reſſavd by me, or thoſe under me, which have made ſo great a noyſe?

I ſhall now offer to your lordſhips conſideration, what became of theſe fourteene thouſand mearks, and how they were diſpoſed of by me.

1°. Firſt, at my returne from Galloway in the yeare 1665, I deliverd a paper to the then Lord Commiſſioner, which he communicated to the tuo Lords Archbiſhops, wherin I ſhew them what great expence I had beene at in three years before, for many incident charges in the Kings ſervice, as alſo for my tuo journeys to Galloway, 1663, and

1665. Upon which I was orderd to deliver all the bonds I had taken to Mr Alexander Keith; and haveing reſſaved no command to deliver up the money which was then in my hand, I did conceave, and doe ſo ſtill, that upon the account of my formentiond charges, that money was allowd me; and confirmed I was in that opinion, becauſe ſince that time, it was never ſought from me, the ſoume not exceeding one hundreth and fiftie pounds ſterline, for all theſe charges. A precedent of this was given by the Privie Councell in the yeare 1663, when they orderd one hundreth and tuentie pounds ſterline to be given to E. Linlithgow, for the expence of his journey to Kirkcubright.

2°. In theſe forementiond yeares of 1665 and 1666, ſome miniſters, on the account of ſome extraordinarie charges which they were at for the ſame buſienes wherin I was imployed, receaved from me fortie pounds ſterline.

3°. Thogh Robert Glover, (who is ſo oft mentiond in the long Report, and the abbreviation therof,) was not guiltie of ſo many enormities as he is charged with, yet I may, of theſe fourteene thouſand mearks, ſafelie charge fixe hundreth mearks, if not more, upon him.

4°. The ſeverall officers of theſe parties under my command, at ſeverall times, for their extraordinare charges, (ſuch things being ordinarlie practiſd in all warrs,) reſſaved from me one hundreth and ten pounds ſterline, and upwards.

5°. Laſtlie, when I was ſurpriſd at Drumfreis, the rebells tooke from me, of readie money in the chamber where I lay, and the chamber above it where my clothes were, (which were all likewiſe loſt,) about fixe thouſand and fixe or ſeven hundreth mearks Scots.

My lords, you ſee that in this account, I have not at all mentiond

my particular loſſes, either of horſes, armes, furniture, cloaths, linnens, or my ſervants goods, all which for one of my meane qualitie, were not inconſiderable; bot refers the conſideration of all theſe loſſes, and all the premiſſes, to your lordſhips pleaſure and determination.

End of my Accounts.

Theſe accounts being red before the Councell, a great Committee is appointed to cognoſce of them, to examine myſelfe in any difficultie might ariſe, and report their ſence to the Councell againſt the ſixth of May. The Committee conſiſted allmoſt of theſe members which compoſd the former one, except that (if I remember right,) E. Linlithgow, and my Lord Renton were added. The firſt profeſſing kindnes to me, and the ſecond being my reall friend, made me flatter myſelfe with a fancy, that much ſeveritie was not intended againſt me; neither did my hopes abuſe me; for, being calld to the Committee a day or two before the Councell met, I was uſd with all imaginable civilitie. E. Tueeddaill being againe Preſident, deſird me to name the miniſters to whom I had given the money mentiond in my accounts, which I did very readilie. Then I was deſird to name the officers who had got a ſhare of that money, for which I was accountable. I prepard to doe it inſtantlie, and had namd one of the officers to the cleark; bot E. Tueeddaill perceaveing I was unwilling to particulariſe the perſones, after he had ſpoke with tuo or three of the Committee with a low voyce, told me, the Committee haveing found ſo much ingenuitie in me formerlie, that they wold take my word for this, and diſpence with me in that particular; and ſo diſmiſd me. The Report to the Councell was

favorable, and no doubt I had ftrong obligations both to E. Tueeddaill, and Sir Robert Murrey, for their kindnes in the Report; for thogh my accounts were true and juft enough, yet if thefe tuo perfons and the reft of the Committee had not beene favorable to me, what I gave either to minifters or officers, or the hundreth and fiftie pound fterline I had taken to myfelfe without precept, had not beene alloued me. On the fixth day of May, the Committee made their report to the Councell, and both my charge and difcharge were alloued by their lordfhips, without a contrare vote, except my Lord Cochran, whom the King hath fince made Earle of Dundonnald. Ane act of councell was paft for my exoneration, a copie wherof followes.

Act of Councell for my exoneration, at Edenburgh the 6th of May, 1668.

"Forafmuch as the Kings Majefty haveing by his letter directed to the Lords of his Councill upon the third of March laft, ordered them to call Sir James Turner to ane account for moneys and bonds levied and taken by him for church fines, and in order thereto, they haveing appointed a committee of their oune number to confider of the faid Sir James his accounts, who, in obedience to the faid order, haveing called and conveened the faid Sir James before them, and he haveing exhibit and given in a paper, bearing a charge and difcharge of the bonds and moneyes reffaved and levied be him; and the faid Committee haveing diligentlie perufed and confidered the faid paper of accounts, did make the report folloueing: Firft, as to the charge, that their humble opinion was, that feeing they conceaved there wold be

difficultie to prove legallie the charge of threttie eight thouſand pounds Scots or therby, given in againſt him by the countrey, that the charge of threttie thouſand pounds Scots confeſſed be him, (wherin they thinke him very ingenuous,) be admitted without further inquirie. And as to the firſt article of the diſcharge, craveing the alloueance of one thouſand pound sterline taken for quartering, that their opinion was that the ſame ſould be alloued, ſeeing it hath been the former cuſtome to grant allouеance of quartering upon ſuch occaſions. As to the ſecond article, anent the bonds taken be him, and deliverd to Mr Alexander Keith, which amount to eight thouſand one hundreth and fiftie one pound Scots, that Sir James ſhould be exonerd of the ſame. As to the article of one hundreth and fiftie pound ſterline, which he deſires may be alloued upon the account of his charges for the ſeverall times he went to Galloway; they thinke the ſame ſould be alloued to him upon that reaſon, and upon the conſideration of the loſſes he ſuſtaind, by plundering of his horſes, cloaths, etc. when he was taken priſoner. As to that article of fortie pound ſterline given to ſome miniſters, Sir James haveing made a particular condeſcendence who did reſſave the ſamine; they thinke the ſame ought to be alloued to him. That the article of ſixe hundreth mearks reſſaved be Robert Glover be alloued, and ſome courſe be taken with him therfore. That the hundreth and ten pounds ſterline given by him to officers under his command, for their extraordinarie charges be alſo alloued. And as to the laſt article of ſixe thouſand ſixe hundreth mearks, which Sir James alledgeth he loſt when he was taken priſoner; the Committee noways doubting Sir James his ingenuitie, offerd it as their opinion, that the ſame ſould be alloued him. The Lords of his Majeſties Privie Counſell haveing at length

heard and conſiderd the forſaid account of charge and diſcharge given in by the ſaid Sir James Turner, together with the ſaid Report of the Committee therupon, doe approve of the ſaid Report, and exoners and diſcharges the ſaid Sir James of his intromiſſion with the ſoumes and bonds above ſpecified, conforme to the tennor of the forſaid Report.

Extractum per me,

Sic ſubſcribitur,

Pet. Wedderburne.

So ended the Act of Councell.

Haveing now at length comd to ane end of this tedious and trouble-ſome buſienes, wherin, in ſteade of ſome gratuitie from his Majeſtie, of which I was made to have great hopes, my livelihood was taken from me, not without ſome reflection on my reputation; and trulie things being repreſented ſo of me to the King, his Majeſtie might have uſd me worſe, better he could not; being, I ſay, at ane end of it, I tooke my leave of the Lords, thankfullie acknouledging the favours I reſſaved from ſome of them; and returning to Glaſgow, I found my wife very ſicke of a feaver, and in a ſtrong apprehenſion of death; bot it pleaſed God ſhe recoverd, to be a comfort to me after theſe ſad tryalls.

Since then I have livd private, and though I profeſſe myſelfe no ſtoicke, nor have I indeed that apathie or inſenſibilitie of the ſtroakes of fortune and afflictions wherof they fooliſhlie boaſt, yet I may without vanitie ſay, that the Kings diſpleaſure with me being ſet aſide, I have beene bot litle movd with theſe changes of fortune that hath befallen me; nor have they brangled my reſolutions from looking on

proſperitie and adverſitie with ane equall eye, nor ſhall hinder me, ſo farre as God ſhall enable me with grace, to keepe a good conſcience before God, ane unſpotted loyaltie to my Prince, and faire and honneſt dealeing with all men, at leaſt in as hie a degree as man in the ſtate of imperfection can reach to.

I am writeing this in the month of Februare, of the yeare of our Lord one thouſand ſixe hundreth three ſcore and ten, and entring in the ſixe and fiftieth yeare of my oune age, being in indifferent good health; my bodie, conſidering the fatigue of my life, not very craſie; the intellectualls which God hath beſtowed upon me, ſound enough; and my memorie ſo good, that though I never uſed to keepe notes in writeing, and that I have written within theſe four laſt monthes, the Introduction to my Diſcourſes, and the Introduction to this long Narration with the Narration itſelfe, in which are comprehended the moſt remarkable paſſages of my life; yet all and everie one of them repreſented themſelvs as freſhlie to my remembrance as if they had beene bot the occurrences of yeſterday. To God onlie wiſe, be glorie for ever. Amen.

END OF THE WHOLE NARRATION.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

FULL REFUTATION OBSERVED

BISHOP CELLIER'S OBSERVATIONS ON THE

APPENDIX No. I.

APPENDIX, No. I.

BISHOP GUTHRY'S OBSERVATIONS OF THE LATE REBELLION OBSERVED.

AFTER haveing long ſought for a manuſcript of our late troubles, I have got a ſight of it, and it beares this title: "Obſervations upon the "riſe and progreſſe of the late rebellion againſt King Charles the Firſt, "in ſo farre as it was carried on by a malecontented faction in Scot- "land, under pretext of reformation; by Mr Henry Guttrie, Biſhop of "Dunkeld." I have obſervd, in theſe Obſervations, ſome paſſages maliciouſlie and falſlie written againſt James Duke of Hamilton, and others which I know to be meere lyes; bot theſe laſt, not directlie relateing to the Duke, I ſhall onlie touch *en paſſant*, that the reader may know the Biſhop to have beene a man not to be truſted in what he writes, bot when the truth was knoune by more faithfull authors.

Page 17, [Pr. Mem. p. 40.] The Biſhop, ſpeakeing of Duke James, then Lord Commiſſioner, writes:

"Upon the morrow, theſe lords and miniſters returnd to his Grace,"

(now theſe lords and miniſters were Covenanters,) " and found him " more plauſible in treateing with them, even publicklie before Rox- " burgh, Southeſke, the Treaſurer Depute, the Juſtice Clerk and other " Councellors that were preſent. Bot that which was moſt talkd of, " was that which at parting he told them in private; for haveing de- " fired theſe Lords of the Councell to ſtay ſtill in the chamber till his " returne, himſelfe convoyed them" (to wit, the Covenanters) " thorough " the roomes, and ſtepping into a gallerie, he drew them in to a corner, " and there expreſd himſelfe as follows: My lords and gentlemen, I " ſpoke to you before theſe Lords of the Councell as the Kings Com- " miſſioner; now there being none preſent bot yourſelves, I wold ſpeake " one thing to you as a kindlie Scotſman: if you goe on with courage " and reſolution, you will carry what you pleaſe; bot if you faint and " give ground in the leaſt, you are undone; a words enough to wiſe " men." The Biſhop proceeds thus: " This haveing beene ſpoke in pri- " vate, I ſould not have mentiond it, if it had not comd to be publick; " and reports anent it were ſo different, that ſome made it better, others " worſe then it was. Bot that ſame very day, Mr Andro Cant told it " to Mr Guild, as alſo to Maſter Dalgleis miniſter of Cooper, to Mr " Robert Knox miniſter of Kelſo, and to Mr Henry Guttrie miniſter " of Stirline."

Anſuere.

The Biſhop, after ſo foule an aſperſion, ſould have endeavord to prove his accuſation by ſome more habile witneſſes then Mr Andro Cant, yea or any of the Covenanters, not excepting the beſt of them; for all of them were then partie, all of them knew bot too well that many publick affaires are carryed on by lyes, and the buſines ordinarlie

done before the people be undeceived; and therfor I doubt not bot they wold ſtudie by all meanes, laufull and unlaufull, to carry thorough their begun rebellion; and what more plauſible way to encourage their oune partie, and get proſelites to their cauſe, then to perſuade not onlie the populace, bot even men of note, parts and underſtanding, that his Majeſties Commiſſioner was only for the King in an outward and diſſembled ſhow, bot in his heart was entirelie for the Covenanters and their cauſe? Bot the Biſhop himſelfe makes Mr Andro Cant the reporter of this tale, and conſequentlie father of the ly; and indeed he could not have told it to three fitter trumpeters, wherof this Biſhop was himſelfe one. Bot let this manuſcript be examind, it will be found the Biſhop accuſes the ſame Mr Cant, in another caſe, to have made a concatenation of lyes in the pulpit to his audience in a ſermon, and blaſphemous lyes in his prayer to God Allmightie. With what malice and impudence then can the Biſhop make uſe of the ſame Mr Cant as a habile witnes againſt James, then Marques, ſince Duke of Hamilton?

This Mr Guild, (if it be he I meane,) was an honneſt man at that time, and a royaliſt; and therfor Cant hath purpoſelie told this ly to him, that Guild being once perſuaded to beleeve it, might alſo labour to bring other honneſt and loyall men to a diſtruſt of the Commiſſioner, that they might provide for their oune ſafetie, by leaveing him and joyning with the Covenanters; Cant and all his crue knouing well enough, that when one is boldlie calumniated, ſomthing will ſticke and adhere; and aſſuredlie their deſigne at that time and long afterwards, was, to make honneſt men jealous one of another, and particularlie of James then Marques of Hamilton; wherin they were bot too ſucceſſefull,

none contributeing more to it then the Biſhop, the author of this manuſcript.

Bot let us obſerve, what a poore and fillie kind of a man the Biſhop makes the Marques to have beene. He convoyd the Covenanters out of the chamber where he was. Trulie I have knoune him keepe greater ſtate when he was not the Kings Commiſſioner. Bot he leaves the Privie Councellors, and convoys the Covenanters thorough ſeverall roomes, and leads them to a corner in a gallerie, there to bluſter out both treaſon and follie. James Duke of Hamilton had many and pouerfull enemies, who accuſd him of treacherie; bot this Biſhop is the firſt, (for any thing I ever yet heard,) that accuſd him of follie. Wold any bot a foole, or a mad man, have told out his treacherous thoughts to a number of men, of whom he neither had, or ſought a promiſe of ſilence. Could he not have imparted theſe villanies onlie to one of the Covenanters, (ſuppoſe my Lord Lindſay, the Dukes brother in law,) that he might tell them to the reſt of the conſpirators? Bot the Biſhop will have the Duke to tell his treaſonable cogitations to more then halfe a dozen of the violenteſt of all the Covenanters. The Dukes enemies never accuſd him of follie, bot in the contrare of too much wit and policie; nor did they ever accuſe him to be open mouthd, bot, in the contrare, to be the moſt cloſe and reſerved perſon that ever folloued a court. Bot this Biſhops malice is ſo great, that he will have the Duke to have beene both a knave and a foole, none of which he was ever able to prove.

Bot how wickedlie and falſlie the Biſhop hath repreſented this ſtorie, may appeare perfectlie by this, that he writes of the famous then Earle, ſince Marques of Montroſe, as one who beleevd this ridi-

culous narration to be true. There is no doubt bot that noble perſon was ſo wrought on to be Duke James his enemie, and was indeed ſo to a hie degree; and if he could have put any ſtreſſe on this forgerie, it is to be thought aſſuredlie he wold not have omitted it, but wold certainlie have made it one of the chiefe articles of that accuſation he and others gave againſt Duke James, in the yeare 1643, in Oxford; and being he did it not, aſſuredlie he lookd upon it as a fable invented by Maſter Cant, with some additional notes by Biſhop Guttrie. You may reade theſe articles at Oxford, and Duke James his anſwers to them, in the Memoires of that Duke, and his brother Duke William, written by Doctor Burnet.

The Biſhop, page 23. [Pr. Mem. p. 56.]

" Notwithſtanding my Lord Aboine deſird my Lord Marques of " Hamilton to joyne the land forces he had on the Kings ſhips with his, " yet he did it not, bot lay ſtill in the Firth, and did nothing at all."

Anſuere.

The Marques might not, by his inſtructions, put all his land forces to the north. Aboyne got more then what he defired; for beſide officers and amunition, the Marques gave him money, and the two firſt were onlie ſought; bot what uſe Aboine made of all, I had rather the Biſhop ſould learne from others then me. Reade the Memoires.

The Biſhop, in that ſame page.

" The Lord Marques came out of his ſhips, by boate, to the linkes " of Barnbougall at midnight, where my Lord Loudon met him and " had tuo hours conference with him; after which he returnd to his " ſhips, and the Lord Loudon to theſe who ſent him."

Anſuere.

Theſe who gave in a charge againſt Duke James at Oxford, 1643, were not ſo punctuall, and therfor more prudent then the Biſhop, who particulariſes a meeting in Barnbougall linkes with the Lord Loudoun, and ſtints the conference to tuo houres time; wheras the charge names not the Lord Loudon at all, nor ſpeakes not of one night, or tuo houres, bot ſays indefinitlie, the Marques keepd ſeverall meetings in Barnbougall ſands and places nixt adjacent, with ſome who were moſt deſperate leaders and promoters of the Covenant; for fraud and deceit lurkes in generalls. Bot ſince the Biſhop is ſo particular, I thinke he was bound to have made good his aſſertion. If he could not produce habile witneſſes, yet he was obliged to have namd ſome ſpectators, or byſtanders. Aſſuredlie neither the Marques nor the Lord Loudoun came alone; and if the Biſhop thoûght the Marques his attendants guiltie of their lords treacherie, and therfor not apt to reveale his ſecrets, yet he might have namd theſe who waited on Loudoun, who were no hoter Covenanters then the Biſhop himſelfe was at that time. And if my Lord Loudoun did tell the Biſhop that he had met that night with the Marques of Hamilton, what will follow on that, bot that it was neither the firſt ly nor the laſt ly that lord had made, for promoting the holy covenant, and calumniating the Kings friends and ſervants, particularlie the Marques; to make loyall perſons jealous of him, as one who keepd night meetings with his maſters enemies, and therfor not to be truſted, and conſequentlie to fall off to the Covenanters. Duke James fullie anſuerd that charge at Oxford, as you may read in his Memoires.

The Biſhop, page 46. [Pr. Mem. p. 117.]

" The Marques being come home, (viz. anno, 1642,) he and Argile " feaſted daylie together, and ſpoke of a match betweene my Lord " Lorne and Lady Anne Hamilton; ſo that in ſteade of reclaiming Ar- " gile to the Kings ſide, Marques Hamilton went along in Argiles way."

Anſuere.

Marques James neither came doune from Court, or was ſent doune by the King, to declare warre againſt Argile, or any of the Covenanters, bot to ſtraine all the ſinues of his wit to gaine all of them to his Majeſties ſervice, and eſpeciallie to hinder them to joyne either forces or councells with the blacke Parliament of England, then in armes againſt the King. Could Marques James deale in this great affaire with Argile, (the then prime Covenanter,) and not ſpeake with him; and could he ſpeake with Argile, and not ſeeme to uſe him kindlie? How hath malice foold this Biſhop, as not to make uſe of that reaſon God had beſtoud on him! Did not the Biſhop know that marriages are oftner ſpoke of among great men then intended; yea, often conſummated, yet both the married couple and their parents ſticking cloſe and adhering to their former principles, both in matters of faith and ſtate? Reade the true ſtorie of the tuo brothers deportment in the yeare 1642, in their Memoires written by Dr Burnet, which will cleare any unbyaſſd reader.

The Biſhop, ſpeakeing of Lieutenant Generall Leſlies march to Kintire, writes, page 92. [Pr. Mem. p. 243.]

" From Inneraray on the 24th of Auguſt [May] they marchd to Kintire, " where Alaſter Macdonald was, whoſe ſtrength was 1400 foot, and " tuo troopes of horſe. On the 25th Macdonald ſkirmiſhd with them

" from morning till night; bot the nixt day, himſelſe and his Iriſhes,
" (haveing boates in readienes) fled to the Iles, and from thence to Ire-
" land. The countrey people, whom Macdonnald had conſtraind to joyne
" with him, ſubmitted, on quarters given them by David Leſlie; bot
" haveing renderd their armes, Marques Argile and a bloodie preacher,
" Mr John Nevoy, prevaild with him to breake to them; and ſo the
" armie was let looſe upon them, and killd them all without mercie.
" Wheranent it ſeemd David Leſlie had ſome inward checke, for whill
" the Marques and he and that Mr Nevoy were walking together
" over the ancles in blood, he turnd about and ſaid, Now Mr Johne, have
" you not once got your fill of blood!"

Anſuere.

I have not taken notice of ſeverall falſhoods, wherby the Biſhop blemiſhes and ſtaines the actions of the noble Marques of Montroſſe, even when he intends to cry them up. I might have let this paſſe alſo, as being eccentrick to my obſervations, which I intended onlie concerning James Duke of Hamilton; yet, to ſhow how the Biſhop impoſes lyes and contrivd fables on his readers, and does not at all make truth the ſquare of his writeings, I ſhall ſpeake a litle to this laſt paragraph, as knouing the ſtorie as well as any man breathing. Firſt, Macdonnald had good enough intelligence of Leſlies march into Kintire; and therfor, if he had beene a ſoldier, and not exceſſivelie beſotted with brandie and aquavitæ, he ſould have poſſeſd the paſſes on this ſide of Kintire, where one hundred well armd and reſolute foot might have done David Leſlie miſchiefe enough, and gone faire to have repelld his forces, eſpeciallie his horſe. Nixt, that Macdonnald ſkirmiſhd from morning till night is ſo falſe, that I beleeve that ro-

mance had its exiſtence onlie in the Biſhops oune braine, and no where els. After Leſlie had gaind the paſſes without reluctancie, very unadviſedlie rode with the horſe ſeverall miles before his foot, and there found Alaſter on his march, bot out of time, (like muſtard after dinner,) to the paſſes, particularlie to a houſe called Tarbot. Leſlie made a halt, and offerd ſkirmiſh; tuo of Macdonnalds men were taken, and immediatlie without more adoe he retird; and now it was farre afternoone, Leſlie thinking Alaſter had retird to ſome ſtrength, returnd backe to his foot. Was this to ſkirmiſh a whole day, where Leſlie had neither man nor horſe killd, ſhot or wounded? Nixt day, Leſlie purſued, bot found Macdonnald was fled to Ila, bot had left 300 men, and ſtout men they were, at Dunnevertie; which he did like a foole, neither that houſe nor Dunneveg in Ila haveing any water, which occaſioned the loſſe of both places. A fearfull ly it was in the Biſhop, to write that theſe Alaſter had left behind him had quarter promiſd, and given them by David Leſlie. A moſt falſe calumnie. The truth was this. The 300 men in Dunnevertie had faire conditions offerd them for their perſons and baggage, if they wold give over the houſe; this they ſtiflie refuſd to doe, expecting releefe which Alaſter had falſlie promiſd. At length their louer trench being ſtormd and taken, and fortie of their men killd in it, want of water made them beg conditions which before they had refuſed; bot none were granted them, bot to come out on diſcretion, which they did, and ſo were put to the ſuord. Heere nothing was done againſt the laws and cuſtome of warre, much leſſe againſt faith or parole; for neither life nor quarter was ever promiſd them. Yet I ſhall not deny bot heere was crueltie enough; for to kill men in cold blood, when they have ſubmitted to mercie, hath

no generoſitie at all in it. It is true, David Leſlie hath confeſſd it afterwards to ſeveralls, and to myſelfe in particular oftner then once, that he had ſpard them all, if that Nevoy, put on by Argile, had not, both by preachings and imprecations inſteade of prayers, led him to commit that butcherie. Houever, he broke neither word nor articles, as this Biſhop falſlie alleages. And is it not a prettie ſtorie of the Biſhop to ſay, that the Marques of Argile, David Leſlie, and Nevoy waded over the ancles in blood? Certainlie they have beene horriblie delighted in blood, that wold walke in blood, where they might have walkd dryſhod. Could the blood of 300 men, in a hote ſummer day, make ſuch a poole of blood as to come over mens ancles? Bot this is ſo farre from truth, that David Leſlie never ſaw theſe 300 men either dead or alive, or ever came neere them, ſay the Biſhop what he will.

I cannot deny, bot there was ſome inhumanitie uſed in this action; bot if we will conſider what a graceles and diſobedient crue of deſperados theſe were who ſufferd, we muſt acknouledge they got no more bot what they juſtlie deſervd. For, firſt, no requeſt, no intreatie nor command of Marques Montroſſe, could prevaile with Alaſter, or with his Iriſh and Kintire men, to ſtay with him after Kilſith battell; bot to Kintire they wold goe, and to Kintire they did goe, and to that diſobedience of theirs, and my Lord Aboyns leaveing him with his northerne horſe, might Montroſſe impute his loſſe at Philiphauch. Nixt yeare after that, the late King ſent his commands to Montroſſe to lay doune armes, which he did; the like orders did his Majeſtie ſend to Alaſter and his Kintire men, by Sir James Leſlie, which that mad man and his cracke braind companie obſtinatlie and rebelliouſlie refuſd to obey. Beſide, they had ſhed much innocent blood, which might well

have beene ſpared; for tho Argile and many others were guiltie of capitall crimes, yet moſt of their vaſſalls and tennants were innocent; and of them it might be ſaid, what have theſe poore ſheepe done? Now, theſe unhappie men who would neither obey their oune Generall, nor their Soveraigne Prince, for whom they pretended to fight, bot wold needs ſtand on their oune legs, and who diſdainfullie refuſd faire conditions when they were reducd to extremities, what quarters could they rationallie expect from their profeſd and dounright enemies, the Covenanters? Yet, perhaps, their welldeſerved puniſhment was inflicted on them by the wrong hand.

The Biſhop, ſpeakeing of Duke James his election to be Generall, 1648, page 100. [Pr. Mem. p. 267.]

"There came onlie tuo to be talkd of, in reference to the hieſt place "of command. The one was Duke Hamilton, whoſe friends contend-"ed, it ſould be ſetled on him. The other was the Earle of Calander, "very many being for it, that he ſould be the man, etc."

Anſuere.

I beleeve, when the Biſhop wrote this, he knew he was writeing a ly; for he could not bot know, that the Duke and his friends were ſo farre from contending for that hie charge, that it was impoſd on him againſt his will, by parliament; and if he had not accepted, he had beene ſent to the Caſtle of Edenburgh, if he had not met with harder meaſure; nor did ever the Earle of Calander, or any for him, deſire a hier charge then to be Lieutenant Generall under the Duke. See the Dukes Memoires.

The Biſhop, ſpeakeing of the fight at Machlin, page 104.

[Pr. Mem. p. 278.]

" The fight laſted not long, Middletone in an inſtant putting them " all to flight; eightie of them being kild in the place, the reſt taken " priſoners, except a few that eſcaped by flight."

Anſuere.

As ſhort as this relation is, it has many groſſe lyes in the bellie of it. Middleton did not rout theſe rebells in an inſtant; they diſputed the matter long, wounded both him and Colonell Hurrie with ſuords on the head, which ſhew they did not preſentlie fly; and if E. Calander had not comd up with 8 troopes of horſe, Colonell Turners regiment of foot following faſt, the buſines had beene worſe with Middleton. There were not ten of them killd, and not above ſixtie priſoners. Now when the fight began, they were no fewer than tuo thouſand; how could then the Biſhop impudentlie ſay, that all were killd and taken except a few that eſcapd by flight; for moſt of all, on Calanders appeareing, got away in a full bodie?

The Biſhop, page 105. [Pr. Mem. p. 279.]

" Generall Major George Monro had arrivd by this time from Ire- " land, with tuo thouſand foot, and one thouſand horſe, and marchd " ſtraight after the armie to England."

Anſuere.

In the unhappie tranſactions and Engagment in the yeare 1648, all along the Biſhop makes the Duke to drive on hidden deſignes; and when the too earlie riſeings in England, and Sir Marmaduke Langdales too ſudden levies, forced the Duke allmoſt unprepared to march,

the Biſhop maliciouſlie conceales the true reaſons of the Dukes march, as alſo how he was forced to march with halfe regiments, ill armd and worſe diſciplind, in the rainieſt ſummer ever Europe ſaw; and withall, to make the Duke more odious, he multiplyes his forces, as heere he doth Sir George Monros; for he landed not in Scotland with above fifteene hundreth foot, and four hundreth horſe.

The Biſhop, page 106. [Pr. Mem. p. 283.]

"The Scots armie made Preſton their hoff quarter, bot withall quar-
" terd ſo wide, that betueene the van and reare of their armie, there
" was neare eight and threttie miles, and withall ſufferd not George
" Monro and his forces to come up, bot keepd him allwiſe behind, to
" bring up the foots canon, which were in number five."

Anſuere.

Malicious Biſhop! who, before the armie was raiſd, makes the Duke underhand play the ſame game which Argile and the kirk was playing above boord; and after he was Generall, the Biſhop makes him act like a man who deſigned to get his armie deſtroyd, his maſter ruind, and himſelfe murtherd. Biſhop, I wold not have beleevd one word of this laſt paragraph, tho I had heard you preach it in a pulpit. Preſton was never the hof quarter, nor did ever any of Duke James his armie quarter in it. The Duke wold gladlie have had Sir George Monro and his forces come up to his armie, becauſe his men were traind and experiencd; bot in this, as ſeverall other things, he unhappilie ſufferd himſelfe to be overruled, nor did Sir George deſire to joyne. The Dukes Memoires will informe you. It was agreed on, that Sir George ſould ſtill be in the reare, not for bringing canon, for we

never ſaw any, bot for bringing ſicke and ſtraglers. It was alſo agreed on that Sir Marmaduke Langdale ſould conſtantlie have the van, for provideing guides, bot moſtlie for intelligence, the want wherof haſtend our ruine; for Sir Marmaduke and ſome of the Dukes armie were routed, before we knew it was Cromwell that had done the feate. The day before Cromwell appeard, Calander and Middleton had preſd the Duke to ſuffer them to goe with moſt of the cavallerie, eight miles from the head quarters to Wiggam; bot notwithſtanding that unhappie march, there was not ſixteene miles from the van to the reare of all our forces, which this Biſhop with his multiplying glaſſe makes up to eight and threttie.

The Biſhop, in that ſame page. [Pr. Mem. p. 284.]

" Sir Marmaduke Langdale, in his ſkirmiſh, ſent to the Duke and " Earle Calander for amunition, which was refuſd him. The nixt " day, Generall Major Baillie renderd himſelfe and ten thouſand foot " priſoners; the reſt of them ſtragled northwards touards Monro. The " Duke and Calander, and the reſt of the generall officers, (except " Middleton, who made the beſt appearance of any, and was taken on " the place,) with three thouſand horſe, fled together in a body. Short- " lie after, the Duke, with all the other generall perſons, and all the " bodie of horſe, were taken priſoners, except Earle Calander, who in " a diſguiſe eſcapd to Holland."

Anſuere.

In a few lines the Biſhop hath couchd a good many malicious lyes. Firſt, Sir Marmaduke got more amunition then could at that time be well ſpard, and more then he deſird; and numbers of men were like-

wiſe ſent to him; and, by his miſintelligence, takeing Cromwell to be one Aſhton, a preſbyterian gentleman in Lancaſhire, he was inſtrumentall in his oune and the Dukes ruine. Nixt, Lieutenant Generall Baillie had not fifteene hundreth foot with him, when, at Warinton bridge, finding they could make no reſiſtance, [he] renderd himſelfe and them priſoners of warre. Thirdlie, Middleton made no greater appearance then the Duke himſelfe did, nor was Middleton taken on the place; but tuo days after our firſt rencounter, he was taken in Staffordſhire by tuo countrey troopes, his horſe ſtumbling under him. Fourthlie, after our march from Ribble bridge, the Duke never ſaw eight hundreth of his horſe in a bodie, which the Biſhop, according to his cuſtome, makes three thouſand. And here the Biſhop, with his accuſtomd malice, conceales that Calander left the Duke at Utuxeter, and tooke the halfe of the horſe with him, leaving the reſt ſo diſheartend and diſcouragd, that they even put a neceſſitie on the Duke to treate for himſelfe and them. And heere the Biſhop, out of ſpite to the Duke, conceales this treatie, and therby ſeemes to juſtifie the blacke Parliaments murther of the Duke, being he mentions no previous treatie, wherin the Duke and all with him got faire quarters, and articles ſignd. Is not all this done like a reverend and devout father of the church?

The Biſhop, page 108. [Pr. Mem. p. 288.]

"Sir George Monro comeing neare the border of Scotland, acknou-
"ledgd Lainrick for his Generall. Thither came alſo Sir Thomas
"Tilſlie with a thouſand Engliſh horſe, and offerd his ſervice; bot
"was refuſd by Lainrick, ſaying, it wold be a meane to draw Crom-
"well into Scotland."

Anſuere.

The Biſhop hath purſued Duke James till he left him impriſond with the bloodie ſectaries, where he needed expect no good uſage; and then the Biſhop returns to Scotland, to perſecute his brother Lainrick. Could any man have imagind, a Biſhop could have ſhaken a thouſand Engliſh horſe ſo ſoone out of his ſleeve; I never heard of theſe thouſand horſe before, and I beleeve never ſhall heerafter. I knew Sir Thomas Tilſlie very well; a Roman Catholic he was, bot a very loyall perſon. I doe not remember ever I ſaw him with Duke James. I have heard he was to be Major Generall of Sir Marmaduke Langdales foot; and ſo had no horſe with him, bot theſe belongd to his oune perſon and his ſervants. Very wellcome he wold have beene with a thouſand horſe before our defeate, bot how he got a thouſand horſe together ſo ſoone after we were beaten, and marchd ſo ſpeedilie with them to the Scots border, is beyond all wonder; onlie I fancy the Biſhop levied and tranſported them there, purpoſelie that Earle Lainrick ſould refuſe their helpe, and ſo ſould pertake of his brother Duke James his treacherie.

What the Biſhop writes of his generall aſſemblies, and their committees and commiſſions, may perhaps be true; for he was for moſt part a conſtant member of them. Bot aſſuredlie when he wrote this paper, he might have ſpent his time better to have written a homelie. And now, good Biſhop, I am ſo perfectlie wearie of this moſt malicious and lying pamphlet of yours, that I am readie to ſueare never to reade any of your ſermons after it.

APPENDIX, No. II.

LETTERS TO SIR JAMES TURNER.

1. From William Duke of Hamilton.

Hamilton, 22 No^{r}, 1672.

Sir,

I know ſo well by experience what a trouble the paine of the ſciatike is, that I am very ſory you ſhould have it, and that it has at this time hindered me of your company; but if your health or buſſines can allow you to come here againe Chriſſenmaſs, againe which time I intend to return from Ed^{r}, yow ſhall be moſt heartely welcome; and if you will be pleaſed to ſend me a copie of theſe memoires yow have of the buſſines, I ſhall take it for a very great [favour]; and the peruſeing of it before I ſee you, will enable me the more at meeting to talk with yow of that affair, and to let you know my deſigne in it; knoueing how much both my famely and my ſelf is oblidged to your good opinione of us; which, when it is in my pouer other wayes to expreſs my ſence of, you ſhall find me very really, Sir, your moſt affec^{t} friend and ſervant,

Hamilton.

For Sir James Turner.

2. From Dr Gilbert Burnet.

Glas: 1 May [1673?] 10 acloke.

Hono^ll^ Sir,

The encloſed you ſent me for her [Grace] is, as every thing I ever ſaw [from your] pen, truely worthy of you. [Give me] leave to adde, that it was an overſtretch of modeſty that you referre the reading it, and judging how fitt it were to be ſent to me, who will never preſume to judge of any thing comes from you, being aſſured before hand that it muſt be excellent good. I ſhall ſeal and ſend your letter quickly, for a bearer is now in toune. I encline to follow your advice in the particular you mention, and cannot eaſily expreſſe how ſtrong my Inclinations are on all occaſion to approve my ſelfe, Hono^ll^ Sir, your moſt oblidged and faithfull ſervant,

Gilbert Burnett.

I ſend you a book I lately had, ſuppoſed to be the D. of Buckinghams; but I have [reaſon] to apprehend it Cap. Titus his work. One ſheet hath been left out in the binding of it.

For the Hono^ll^ Sir James Turner, at Gorbells.

3. From Dr Burnett.

Hamilton, 18 Aug. [1673.]

Right Worshipfull,

My diſappointment of many papers I was put in hope of, hath kept me all this while from performing the journey I deſigned when I

waited on you. I am now neerer a readines then formerly; but, becauſe the encloſed paper differs in ſome things from the accounts I had from you, I ſend it to you, to ſee if it can ſo refreſh your memory, that all may be fully adjouſted. This paper is of Liv^{t} Gen. Drumonds penning, as it is like you will know by the hand. The moſt conſiderable variation from your account is, that here you will find advertiſements ſent by Monro to the Generall of Cromwells forces at Skipton. He ſaid, they knew not if theſe they ſent came to the army, for they never returned to them; but he is ſure they ſent many another thing. He tells of eight regiments of horſe they found lying behind your army. It is true, he added, they were but of but 150 horſe or 200 at moſt a peece.

I hope when you have peruſed this paper you will return it with ſuch reflections as ſhall occurre, particularlie for clearing thoſe things I have touched. I know your generous friendſhip for the memory of him you honour ſo much, will make you eaſy to me for putting you to ſo much trouble; therefore, without any further apology, I break off, tho I ſhall never break off from being, Noble Sir, your moſt humble and moſt faithfull ſervant,

GILBERT BURNETT.

For the Right Worſhipfull Sir James Turner, at Glaſgow.

4. FROM R. HAMILTON OF DICKMONT.

Kenill, the [1673.]

HONORED S^{R},

I DID not meit w^{t} my lord duck till he com eaſt. I ſhew him your letter; he ſayes qn he comes weſt, which wilbe at furtheſt the nixt

week, he ſd he reſolued to haue yow at hamilton; he ſays y^t^ S^r^ will. lockart was ſpok to qn he was heir, bot his tym in this cuntrie was ſhort; he ſd lykways y^t^ he wold caus the profeſſor to wait on yow, in order to thos amendements, and to conffer w^t^ yow wpon y^t^ expedition.

I moſt intreat yow to giue my lord a uiſſit at hamilton, for I aſſure yow both his gr. and the dutches uiſſes yow weall, and ar much your friend, and will tak your weiſſit weri kyndlie. I told the generall y^t^ I had bein w^t^ yow, and of your ciwilitie and kynd remembrance of all your old acquaintance, and particularlie to himſelf. Houſtoune hes his ſerwice remembrit to yow; he ſays he hes toylled himſelf much to find out your age, and hes read not a few books and ancient records; bot at laſt he hes fund it out, y^t^ in quein marie of jngland her tym, ther was one Serjeant major turnor, a glant man, ſerwed hir in the warrs, which directlie he finds was yow by ſeverall obſerwations. S^r^, I wiſſe yow guid health; I pray yow remember my ſerwice to your ladie; I haue nothing elſe to troubell yow w^t^, bot y^t^ I am, Honored S^r^, your moſt humbill ſerwant,

R. HAMILTON.

For his honord freind, Sir James Turner, at Glaſgow, Thes.

5. FROM DR BURNET.

Hamil. 22 Aug. 1673.

RIGHT WORSHIPFULL,

I SHALL not enter on a particular conſideration of your laſt, but ſhall only tell you, you give in it ſuch demonſtrations of your noble friendſhip for the two Dukes, that you have to a very high degree

obliged both Duke and Ducheſſe; who comand me to return their very hearty thanks to you, and are reſolved on every occaſion to make appear what a ſenſe they have of their obligations to you. I now ſend you all I have written, both of the Ingagment and the buſines of Strivelin, and will expect your opinion of it. Yeſterday Dachmont was with me, and told me diverſe particulars were new to me; the moſt conſiderable of them you will find added by my hand, but one thing I demurre on till I hear your ſenſe of it. He tells me, that being ſent by S^r George Monroe to the Duke, on the Fryday before Preſton, the Duke read to Douchel and him a letter he had from Langdale, telling how the enemy had rendeſvouſed at Oatly and Oatley-park, wher Cromwell was. This ſeems to vary from your account; ſo I hope, when you have read the papers my man will give you, that you will favour with a return, Sir, your moſt humble faithfull ſeruant,

GIL. BURNETT.

For the Right Worſhipfull Sir James Turner, at Glaſgow.

6. FROM THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

28 Auguſt, 1673.

SIR,

ON monday Mr Burnet went from this on his way to London. If I do not follow him within a fortnight, I reſolve to keep my reſolution in ſeeing yow about the end of the herveſt; and if you have not advertiſement before I come, I ſhall diſpence w^t your fare, if I have the good fortune to find yourſelf. I ſhall communicate yours to Mr Burnet before that book come abroad, for I thinke what yow ſay is

very rationall. If I go to London, and can do yow any ſervice there, yow may be aſſured of it from, Sir, your oblidged friend and ſervant,

HAMILTON.

For Sir James Turner, at Glaſgow.

7. FROM DR BURNET.

Hamilton, 22 Novr, (1673.)

RIGHT WORSHIPFULL,

I AM ſorry I came ſo ſoon out of Glaſgow, ſince I thereby miſſed ane occaſion of anſwering yours, and brought on you the trouble of ſending your ſervant ſo farre. The Duke of Hamilton goes in on Monday or Tweſday, and ſent for me, but I ſhall wait on you, pleaſe God, on Tueſday or Wedneſday, and then we ſhall talk more fully.

Mean while, I ſhall tell you, I had not adviſed you to ſo humble a Confeſſion as you made the Comr; ſince your greateſt crime was too implicit obedience to a Comr, which certainly, in his account, ſhould paſſe for a very veniall ſin. I wiſh you had pretended ſooner to Vrreys place, tho I think it is not too late till his ſucceſſor be declared; but I apprehend D. Laud. is ſo engaged, not only to Borthick, but alſo to Mr Stewart, who was made livt with a promiſe of the firſt captains place, tho Mr Drumond of Lundie was preferred, that I ſuppoſe D. Laud. will take ane occaſion at once to oblige Borthwick, and to perform his promiſe to Mr Stewart; yet your pretending will at leaſt doe you this right, that whatever follow, you have again offered your ſervice to the King. You can expect nothing from D. Ham. mediation

with D. Laud, they are in ſo ill termes. How the Chancellor ſtands with the Com[r] I know not, but your application to the Parliament would be well conſidered, for I know not how the lords of Councell will like the Precedent, ſince vpon the matter it will ſound a complaining of their vnjuſtice. But I wiſh you were at Ed[r], if your health could allow of it, for ther' you could take better meaſures then any can at this diſtance. This is what occurres. I ſhall only adde, that at London D. Laud expreſſed to me a willingnes to promote your brother, which makes me think he hath no ill impreſſion of you; but how farre E. Tweeddale would now choake or promote your buſines in Parl[t], I cannot ſay. And now D. Ham. and he are cloſely vnited at this tyme. I am no more than I was, for I told the King plainly I would not be a Biſhop, nor any great thing, but I am vnalterably, Sir, your moſt humble faithfull ſeruant,

GILBERT BURNET.

Ther came no newes to this place ſince Tueſday. The Ducheſſe here is your moſt faithfull friend, and remembers her to you very kindly.

For the Right Worſhipfull
Sir James Turner, at the Gorbells.

8. FROM THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

S[R],

I AM ſorie your Indiſpoſition hindered me from your good company this day w[t] your ladys, who my wife was very glade to ſee; but your thoughts of looking after things beyond the ſea troubles me extreamly, and I hope, even the time you propoſe before you do itt, ſome thing may fall out that may give you ground to change your reſolution. I

ſhall not in this trouble you w^t^ my full thoughts of itt, hopeing to ſee yow befor your reſolutions be more determined; onely I ſhall ſay, that your imploying the cheife miniſter, in deſiring ſo ſmall a favor from his Ma^tie^ to you as a paſs, can certanely not be refuiſed or miſtaken by any. Your obſerves ar moſt rationall; but how to help what Mr Burnets precipitant haſt to bring theſe memoires to the view of the world, is the great queſtion; for it is that has occaſioned theſe great errors, and what ground he had to make ſo much haſt, I could never underſtand, and I did what I could to prevent itt, that they might have been a litle better digeſted; and on this very account he and I ar fallen in thoſe tearms that wee do not correſpond; but at meeting wee ſhall talke of these matters at more length; and not haveing any news worth your trouble, I onely ade the aſſurance of my being, S^r^, your affec^t^ friend and ſervant,

HAMILTON.

For Sir James Turner.

9. FROM THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

22 Sep. [1675.]

SIR,

THE uncertanty of my ſons goeing, by the delay of the ſhips makeing ready, and the neceſſity that is on me to be preſent at the next Councill day, makes me uncertane till my return here, wher and when I ſhall meet w^t^ L^t^ Generall Drumond. So ſoon as I can be poſitive in it, I ſhall lett you know. The B^p^ of Dumblane I expect to ſee here this day. I confes I . . . . . the primats change to him; but a

litle time will diſcover many things, and ſhall that I am, Sir, your moſt affec[t] friend,

HAMILTON.

For Sir James Turner.

10. FROM THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

Hamilton, Nou[ber] 13, 1675.

S[R],

I RECEIVED yours of yeſterday, and give you my hearty thanks for the kindnes it expreſſes. My journey has been but reſolu'd ſince I went laſt to Edin[b]; nor does it proceed from any call from the King, but the general deſire, and frequent preſſure, of all friends at Court; w[ch] having communicated to our well-wiſhers here, and finding their opinion to agree w[t] the others judgment, I thought my ſelf obliged to conſent to ſo unanimous a motion. In the mean time, if I may be ſtedable to you in any thing at Court, aſſure your ſelf my endeavors to ſerue you ſhall be ſuitable to the many civilities you have eui-denc'd to S[r], your obliged friend and ſervant,

HAMILTON.

For Sir James Turner.

11. FROM THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

Hamilton, 19 March, 77.

S[R],

I PRAY yow give your brother my thanks for letting me hear from him anent a miniſter to Borrowſtones, and tell him his recomendation

will have great weight w^t^ me, and I ſhall inform my ſelf anent that man he recomends; that I did not preſent my ſelf to ſome vacancies I have in this ſhire, but left it the Archbiſhope, was becauſe I am aprehenſive, by the unruliens off that people, that whatever conform miniſter come amongſt them, his incouragement will be but ſmall; and I had no will to imploy any, wher they might have ſo litle ſatisfaction. Att this junctur, it will be an ill time to recomend that relation off yours to be a Captane, for upon the takeing of 500 men off the recruits off my brothers regiment att ſea, the King of France has broke ten companies off the regiment. Nixt winter will be more fitt, for then is the time he makes up any vacancies, and then you ſhall have all the affiſtance I can give yow. I am ſorie to hear yow haue been ſo ill off the Goutt. I intend to be ſhortly in Glaſgow, at which time yow ſhall ſee your moſt affec^t^ friend and ſervant,

HAMILTON.

For Sir James Turner.

12. FROM THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

11 Aprill [1677.]

SIR,

THER is no haſt in your ſpeaking to the Arch-Biſhope, and when yow gett his relation off that affair I ſpoke of to yow, then hear iff he inclines to do me right wherin his informations had injurred me; it was I that ſhuned liueing with him as formerly, which he wold willingly done, but till he do ſome what to right me wher he has done me wrong, I incline not to itt, and I fear ſo long as he has his de-

pendancie wher he has, ther is litle that way may be expected from him, or truſted to him, promis what he will; but I know your diſcreation and friendſhip for me ſo much, that I leave itt to your management, and am very really, your affec^{t} friend and ſervant,

HAMILTON.

13. FROM THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

23 May, [1677.]

SIR,

AT my return from Anandale, I found yours of the 15 here; my wife being to go to Glaſgow this day will lett you know my thoughts as to the Chan. and the reaſon of the difference betuixt him and the Precedent, and what ar my conjectures of his ſending up his ſon, and will impart to you all I know more, wherby you will find a litle time may produce ſeverall revolutions. So honeſt men had need to be well and ſeriouſly adviſed; and putting great confidence in you, I ſhall not doubt of your friendſhip and frie adviſe, which ſhall meet with all the returns of kindnes in the pouer of your affec^{t} friend and ſervant,

HAMILTON.

14. SIR JAMES TURNER'S "DISCOURSE WITH THE ARCHBISHOP OF GLASGOW, THE 28 OF MAY 1677."

THERE is one fraſer who is priſoner at Dumbarton, as being acceſſorie to a manſlaughter committed by one of his ſonnes; I had tuo letters from him deſireing me to adviſe w^{t} our Archbiſhop what might

be done for him, pretending innocence. I knew the Archbiſhop had kindnes for the man as being his old acquaintance, and therfor I layd hold on this occaſſion to goe to the caſtle laſt monday, where I found Orbiſton and a ſonne of Barns adviſeing with him concerning the tryall of ſome witches; there I found alſo our provoſt, and his bayliffs, tuo wherof runne out ſo ſoone as they ſaw me; there was alſo Sir John Monkreiff, a couſine of the Marqueſſe of Athole; I ſtayd till moſt of theſe were diſpatched, and then enterd in a diſcourſe w^{t} the Archbiſhop concerning Fraſer; from that I fell to ſpeake of a wrong was done to a friend of mine, a miniſter, by the B. of the Iles (wherin I beleeve he was aſſiſted by both our Archbiſhops), and aſkd him if he had no vacant places in his oune Dioceſſe for that poore miniſter. He told me, he thoght for my ſake he might accommode him in Anandaill; bot that not being my errand, I aſkd him if there were no vacancies in Clidſdaill; he ſaid, Differf was vacant, for one Hamilton, to whom it was offerd, wold not accept. I ſaid, nor ſould my friend come there w^{t} my conſent. He told me he had preſented one Gallan to Leſſmahego. I aſkd if all theſe were fallen *Jure devoluto* in his hand; he ſaid yes, bot he had not made uſe of his power till he wrote my lord duke, and got his anſuere, that he might preſent whom he pleaſd. I told him he had done in that very modeſtlie; and ſo haveing made a faire way to my intended diſcourſe, I ſaid, I wiſhd there had been no miſtakes betueen the duke and him about other matters; he anſuerd, he wiſhd the ſame. I prayd him to relate the matter to me, if he had the leiſure: very willinglie, ſaid he, and did it, to my beſt remembrance, in theſe or very neare the like tearms.

At London, ſaid he, my lord duke was pleaſd to give me a viſite;

where falling on the ſubject of indulgd miniſters, he deſird me to be favourable to them, as to men who contributed much to the peace of the countrey. I anſuerd, that they might expect faire enough vſage from me, provided they did theſe things they were obligd to doe. My lord D. aſkd me what theſe things were: one, ſaid I, is the keeping the 29 of May; he ſaid, he thought that ſould be done. Another thing, ſaid I, muſt be done by them, or they can expect no favour from me, and that is, to ordane no young men or Expectants, which they too often practiſe, and that will perpetuate the ſchiſme. The duke, ſaid he, replyd, how can yow or any other get helped? This, ſaid he, I thought was ſtrange language; bot anſuered, that their were hopes, if men did their duetie, it might be got helpd by time. This vpon the matter, ſaid he, was all paſd betueene vs on that heade. Not long after, ſaid he, I had occaſion to goe to D. Lauderdaill concerning my diſpatch to Scotland, haveing allreadie kiſd the kings hand, without any reſolution to tell him any thing had paſd betueene D. Hamilton and me. There were ſome companie with him; bot ſo ſoone as he ſaw me, he came with his accuſtomd addreſſe to me, and told me he had ſomthing to impart to me, and immediatlie tooke me to another roome, and told me there had beene a noble perſon with him, who had promiſd he ſould be a very great man, and the king a glorious prince, w^{t} many other promiſes, if he wold procure the Indulgence in Scotland to be enlarged. I aſkd who that perſon was: he anſuerd, my ladie Dutcheſſe of Hamilton; and that her G. had beene very earneſt w^{t} him in the buſienes. This vnexpected rencounter, ſaid the Archbiſhop, made me apprehend the Duke of Hamiltons deſigne reachd further then at firſt I was aware of, and thervpon told D. Lauderdaill

what had paſd betueene D. Hamilton and me. D. Lauderdaill bid me looke well to it, for the buſines concernd me and all theſe of my order. I told him, ſaid he, I could do no more in it then relate it to him, haveing taken my leave of the king. Yes, ſaid D. Lauderdaill, it will be fit you acquaint the Engliſh Biſhops with the matter before you goe to Scotland. Nixt day, ſaid he, D. Lauderdaill and I dind w^{t} the Archbiſhop of Canterburie at Lambeth, where were preſent the Biſhops of London, Worceſter and Rocheſter. After dinner, D. Lauderdaill told the Engliſh Biſhops, that he thought I had ſomthing to ſay to them; on which I related to them what I have told yow; and D. Lauderdaill told them what had paſd betueene the Dutcheſſe of Hamilton and him. The Engliſh Biſhops were of opinion, D. Hamilton might readilie propound the matter to the king, and therfor it were fit to preuent him, bot told me, I might goe to Scotland; and ſo, ſaid he, I went away. I was told therafter, ſaid he, that the king ſpoke with D. Hamilton on the matter, and that the king told him, now I have it out of yo^{r} oune mouth, that you are for enlarging the Indulgence, and for the preſbiterians to give ordination. The Duke, ſaid he, wrote a letter to me, to which I gave an anſuere, containing all I have now related to you; for I wrote to him I had ſaid nothing of his G. to either D. Lauderdaill or the Engliſh Biſhops, bot what I wold give vnder my hand. And heere the Archbiſhop ſtopd.

I aſkd him, If D. Lauderdaill had not told him what my ladie Dutcheſſe of Hamilton ſaid to him, wold he have told D. Lauderdaill what D. Hamilton ſaid to him; he proteſted he wold not, and could take God to witnes in it. Then I told him, that I was informed, D. Hamilton, in his Diſcourſe with the king, had neither deſird of his

Majeſtie an enlargment of the Indulgence, or libertie of ordination. Bot the king aſking him what his opinion of the Indulgence was, he hielie magniefied that which was granted, as a thing that contributed much to the peace of the countrey where theſe Indulgd miniſters preachd. And being aſkd by his Ma^tie^, if he thought any greater Indulgence ſould be granted, anſwered, He wold not take on him to tell his mind extemporarie; bot that if his Ma^tie^ wold call for others and aſke their advice, he ſould be readie faithfullie to tell his opinion. To all this the Archbiſhop replyed, That he was informed, D. Hamilton denyd that he gave the king advice to permit ordination by preſbiters, bot did not deny that he had adviced him for a larger Indulgence. I replyd, That I beleevd the Duke denyd both the one and the other, bot I wold not meddle in it. Then I told the Archbiſhop, that his revealing to D. Lauderdaill what had paſd betueene D. Hamilton and him, provd no good office to the Duke, becauſe on occaſion therof, men had endeavord to poſſeſſe the king with thoughts that the Duke intended an alteration in church gouernment, which I beleeved never enterd into his thoughts. He anſuered, he was blameles of that; he had repreſented no more bot what had reallie paſd betueene them. I replyd, I was ſorry it had fallen out ſo vnluckilie in his hand, for I had never heard D. Hamilton ſpeake to the prejudice of either him or his order; nay, I have heard him ſay, he wold never liue vnder that preſbiterian government which was in his younger years exerciſd in Scotland. The Archbiſhop ſubjoyned, that he had neuer entertaind any other bot honorable thoughts of my lord Duke; and ſo after ordinare complements, we parted.

15. From the Duke of Hamilton.

Sir, 1 Jun. [1677.]

I am ſorry you have taken ſo much pains to ſo litle purpoſe, for I did aprehend it wold be as is fallen out. How ever, I thanke yow very heartely, and when it is in my pouer, your kindnes ſhall not be forgote. I diſcover more of the deſigne has been in that buſſines nor I knew befor, by the relation the Arch B. gives of itt; for my wife ſpoke what he ſays my Ld Lauderdale told him att parting many weeks befor, and what paſſed betuixt him and me was indeed but a few days befor he parted; and after what paſt betuixt my wife and my Ld Lauderdale, wee was in great civillities together, and many offers made, which was not accepted; wherupon it ſeams this ingine has been fallen on to incenſe the King, ſeeing him uſe me well; bot till I ſee yow I will not trouble yow w^{t} a more full account of that affaire, and wherin the Arch B. relation differs w^{t} me; and for that end I muſt deſire the ſeeing you here when I return from Ed^{r}, wher its like I may go from Kinneill the end of the nixt weeke. I had letters on Saturday that Duke Laud: wold be doun this month and by ſea; other occurrancis I have bid Smith give yow, but litle matteriall yett: the Chancelors way is well enugh underſtood by all ſides, and time will clear his politiks. I am very really, Sir, your moſt affec^{t} friend,

For Sir James Turner. Hamilton.

16. From the Duke of Hamilton.

16 Jun. [1677.]

I wish yow had comed your ſelf, for I confes I do not underſtand

your letter; for how it can be expected I will apear in any publicke thing, conſidering as I am ſtated, w^t^out being called to it by his Ma^tie^, who has thought it fitt for his ſervice to lay me aſide, is a thing ſure in comon diſcretion I ought not to do as a private perſon. I hope to cary my ſelf as becomes a good ſubject, and no body ſhall be more ready to pay Gen. Dalyell all civillity then your moſt affec^t^ friend and ſervant, HAMILTON.

For S^r^ James Turner.

17. FROM THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

S^R^, 10 Sep^br^ [1677.]

BEING juſt goeing to my horſe for Kinneill, I have onely time to tell yow that I thinke yow may ſend your letter wherof I return yow the copy; for I ſhall be very glade all honeſt men may come in imployment, and ſhall wiſh yow good ſucces in itt: onely I ſhall tell yow that the Lyons place was to his ſon as well as himſelf, ſo that does not vaike; and I hear the L^t^: Colls: place is intended for this young E. of Kellie, and that of the Caſtle of Ed^r^ to one Maitland, who is a Cap^t^ in my brothers regiment, and was once D. L. padge, who is already ſent for; he onely to have the profite of the company, and the other revenew of the Caſtle to go for D. L. ouen uſe. I thinke yow had beſt examine theſe things, for I wold not have yow raſh in expoſeing your deſires. At my return, which will be the end of this weeke, I ſhall be glade to ſee yow, and then it is like yow may hear more from your moſt affec^t^ friend, HAMILTON.

For S^r^ James Turner.

18. From the Duke of Hamilton.

S^r^, 26 Oct. [1677.]

I THANKE yow for letting me hear from yow. The marching of the forces from Glaſgow gives great occaſion to people to conjecture what the matter can be, ſince wee can hear nothing extraordinar of the phanaticks motions, who can hardly I thinke be ſo mad as to deſinge any inſurrection, and yett I thinke ſtrange iff the Miniſters of State be ſo allarumed w^t^out good ground; houever it makes the caice of private cuntrey men that intends to leave peaceably, pretty difficult what to reſolve on in theſe ſeaming combuſtions and alarums. I wiſh your Arch B. may att laſt be a good inſtrument in the ſetling off theſe differencis he ſays wold tend to the good off his Ma^ties^ ſervice, that things may be ſetled by a parliament; but I fear he is not convinced ſo in his former errors as to proceed in that method, and ſayed ſo to yow, onely knoueing the reſpect yow may have for ſome off thoſe he mentioned. . . . any further off conſequence come to your knowledge, I ſhall expect to hear from yow, as yow ſhall the like from me, being, S^r^ your very reall and affec^t^ friend, HAMILTON.

19. From the Duke of Hamilton.

S^R^, 2 Jan^r^, 78.

I THANKE yow for letting me hear what comes to your knowledge, but I am not much alarumed w^t^ thoſe ſtories of impriſſonment, and I wiſh that wer the worſt wer intended, then I hope our inocenſie wold ſoon relieve us. I hear the Chancelor is gone to Fife laſt weeke, but the particulare occaſion off it, or any thing els of conſequence, I have

not heard ſince parting; ſo I have onely to add the reneued aſſurance of my being, S^r^, your moſt affec^t^ friend and ſervant,

HAMILTON.

For S^r^ James Turner.

20. FROM ANNE DUCHESS OF HAMILTON.

19 April, 78.

I THANK you hartely for y^r^ kindnes expreſt att this time, which is ſuitable to many more obligations you haue put on me. I heard yeſterday from my Lord; his letter was of the 11; he had not then ſeen his Ma^tie^, but had kiſed the Duks hand, which was by an acedent; for that night he came he went to the Duke of Monmoth, and ſaid he did not goe ſtraght to the King as he vſed to doe, becauſe he heard reports that his Ma^tie^ would not allowe of his waiting on him, and therefore deſired him to aſke his Ma^tie^; but the D. Monmoth replyed, he had ſpoken to the King alredy, and the King bid him tell my Lord he would not ſee him, while he knew what he had to ſay for his coming without ether his leaue or his counſells, who had made a proclamation to the contrary, but he would uerie quickly apoynt his Cabenet Counſell to heare him; and upon the Tuſday the D. Monmoth tould my Lord to come to his lodging, and he would conduct where the counſell ſatt, which was to be the next day; and the King allowed my Lord to bring whom he thought fitt with him; ſo he touk my L. Cocheran, his brother and L^t^ Generall Drumond. They went to ſee the Duches of Monmoth, and stay there while D. M. came to carry them to the place of metting, and there came the D. of Yorke; my Lord made him a low

bow, but did not goe forward while the Duke made a ſigne to him, and then he went and preſented the reſt to him. My Lord ſaid, he looked on itt as a good omen, that they [had] ſeen his Highnes, and hoped he would be att the Cabenet Counſell; the D. ſaid, he thought not to haue ben att itt, for ſeeing them while the King ſhold, but now he thought he might; however he was not thare. Thoſe that weer was the Chanc. the Treſurer, Duke M. the Lord Chamberland, and the 2 Secretares. My Lord ſpok firſt, and then the reſt, what things has ben don amongſt us; but the thing they inſiſted moſt on was, why they had contemned the Kings authoryty in coming without leave, to which they thought they gaue ſatisfying reaſons. As ſone as they came out, the King went in, and D. M. came afterwards, and tould my Lord, His Ma^tie^ ſeemed more fauorably inclined after they had made ther report of what they had ſaid; but the King deſired, for his better information, they would put in writing, which they needed not ſyne, and itt ſhold be returned them againe without been copyed; with all D. M. tould them, if they declined itt, there would be great advantage taken; ſo they were reſoluing to doe itt, but you may judge what loſſe they ar att in wanting aduice of Lawers. This is the ſume of what was wreten to me; only my Lord deſires friends may not be diſcouraged, for he hopes all ſhall be well, and that his next may giue more ground to expect itt; but God be bleſed, euen this is better then what we weer thretened with. As for the mutiny heere yeſterday, I thought itt a uerie pleaſant ſight to ſee they trobled no body heere; but when on company was gone away with their coulers, the L^t^ Coll. and Cap. L^t^ rod after them, and ouer touk them at Jareſton wood; they capitelat the buſſenes, for itt was to hardy a mater for to gentelmen to

force ſo many men back againe but by perſwaſions. L^t^ Coll. had ſume men of his owne who weer prevailed on to returne with a drumer, the reſt marched away with their cullers, and beating ther drum; while they weer at this, the other company in the toune went and forced their cullers out of the place they were in, and went their way, doeing rong to none, but beating ther comarods that were unwilling to goe with them; ſo when the comanders came in from on mutiny, they found a more diſpleſing on, for the company that went from this was the L^t^ Coll. owne company, but itt was grown dark, and there was no following them. But I am tould itt will reflect on me and this place; I ſaid I could not helpe that, but for my part I wiſhe all that comes may do ſo. I heare the regement will now gett leave to goe away; if they had done this ſoner, they might haue ben diſmiſt ſoner; and if they had not, I beleve they ſhold haue ſtayed as long as they could haue gotten any thing. I ſhalle troble you no further, but if I heare better news, you ſhall ſhare. Adieu.

For Sir James Turner.

21. From the Duchess of Hamilton.

22 Aprell, 5 acloke.

I received y^rs^ within this houer. I haue not heard from my Lord ſince I wrott to you, ſo can giue you no further account then what you know. I doe beleue S^r^ G. Lockhart will be att London before the Kings aduocat, who went with his Lady in coach to Yorke, and from thence is to goe in the stage coach. Sure Hatton has ſume other deſigne in coming to Glaſ. then what concernes the ordering the forces,

which itt ſeemes they haue a mind ſhall be continued on us as long as they can. I wonder att the great haſt in bringing out the Needſdaill regement. I think ſume concerned in that ſhire might haue ben expected would haue ſtayed for another comand before they had done itt; but this is a time will diſcouer who ar friends in realety and who not. Amongſt the number of the firſt I bid you hartly Adieu.

For Sir James Turner.

22. From the Duchess of Hamilton.

30 Aprell, —78.

I haue gott no letter from my friend ſince that you was acquainted with, as you ſhall when I heare againe; but I am writen to from Ed^r^ ſume of thoſe things you mentione; but what concernes M. Atholl and E. Perthe I doe not credeat; and I hope more of there aſſertions ar according to the reſt of there way, any thing that makes for them, which, when brought to the teſt, may have, as other things has had, contrary effectes. That the countrie is att preſent ſo much eaſed is a mercy we aught to be thankfull to God for, and ſure our friends has ben no ill inſtrements in itt, and I truſt ſhall ſtill continue in there duty. By the laſt packett, D. L. receued a letter from the Arch B. G., ſhowing how well he was receued by the King, and how takeing the naritive was with His Ma^tie^ and the Clergie of England, and how firmly the King was reſolued to adheir to his Counſell heere, and to approue of there proceedings, as all tending to his ſerues, and to diſcountenance D. H., and that party whom yet he had not admitted to his preſence. You may beleue this letter is even worne out with reeding;

yet I ſhall ſay no more but, for all this, they haue too parts of the feare. Adieu.

For Sir James Turner.

23. [From the Duchess of Hamilton.]

Honered Sir,

I haue receued y^rs^ with the inclosed on you needed not haue returned; and that which I defired you ſhould, was from no doubt of your cair in any thing wherin our friend is concerned. Since I begun to writt I have gott a return of what I wrott with y^rs^. He is werie ſenceable of your kindnes, and has had his thoughts of what you propoſed, but ſees great defec . . . . . to be admitted acces and ordered backe . . . . . to aſke leaue, will ſurely be denyed. He intends to be in Ed^r^ to morow night, and hopes . . . . . day free. Laſt poſt brought no conſiderable news. I heare thoſe in the weſt that refuſes the bond, or the enacting themſelfes, intends to goe to Ed^r^, rather then be impriſoned thare; but itts ſaid they will begin with the moſt conſiderable firſt, for which they have much reaſon, for . . . . . has . . . . . itts like there will be ſo many refuſers as will doe more then fill there priſons. There is great deveſions amongſt them, both in Counſell and Comitie. What God may and will bring out of all theſe diſorderly courſſes is only known to himſelfe, to whoſe determinations itt will be all our duties to ſubmett. The incloſed is all I gott; ſo hartly Adieu.

For Sir James Turner.

24. From the Duchess of Hamilton.

20 May, —78.

A Littel while after y^r ſaruant went away, I receued letters from our friend of the 14 inſtant, which came by Mr Benerman. You will ſee by the incloſed in what condition our friends and ſelfes ar in; if you have any thing elſe to ad to what you have already wreten, lett me haue itt by to morow night. I hope a littell time ſhall produce better things, and for the preſent I am altogether of y^r mind. So adieu.

Our friends duſe not intend to the baiths, while they ſee a littell further, and heere what is friends opinion heere.

Mr George Maxwell was ariued, which lett P. A. know.

For Sir James Turner, att Glaſgow.

25. From the Duchess of Hamilton.

17 June, —78.

There needed no appollege for not ſeeing me, who am not apt to miſtake friends who ar ſo reall as I believe you ar in your profeſſions; but I am ſory y^r abſence now ſhould be from any indiſpoſition, and wiſhes what has formerly ben a remedy may proue ſucceſsfull ſtill. I had letters Saterday . . . . . by S^r Jo. Cun, and by the packett . . . . my lord of a later daitt; they weer put in hope that the convention would be adjorned, and if it weer not, they weer reſolued to kepe it, and I doe not heare but M. Atholl intends alſo to come notwithſtanding of his Ladys jorny. I know no thing of L. G. D. beien in this

cuntrie, and beleues itt is att the ſame raitt of truth that my Lord is ſaid to be heere, which, if ſafely, I ſhould have ben glad of, for his abſence att this time is diſcouraging to ſume. I wiſhe the D. of L. confidence in carying votts ſo clearly as 5 to on in the convention, may make him take no other courſe to bar members ſitting; but ſume of there proceider giues ground to think they will fall on ſume ſuch way; a lettell time will now diſcouer what is att preſent perplexing. Adieu.

For Sir James Turner, att Glaſgow.

26. From the Duchess of Hamilton.

June 19, [1678.]

This day I haue gott letters from my Lord, dated 13, which day he touk jorny with E. Perthe and S^r^ Jo. Cocheran, and ſays others takes poſt, only M. Atholl and E. Kincarne ſtays. My Lord thinks to be in Ed. on Saterday; but there is ſume queſton what way he ſhould come, and I ſhould be glad to haue y^r^ aduice. I intend to goe to Ed^r^ to morow, where, if your helth would permett, you ar hartely wiſhed for. Adieu.

For Sir James Turner, att Glaſgow.

27. From the Duchess of Hamilton.

20 June, —78.

I opened y^rs^ to A. T. and thereby receued y^rs^. I wiſhe y^r^ aduices be followed concerning my friend, which I ſhall declare is my owne oppinion. I gott a letter this morning, which ſpeakes that G. Deyell

ſhould have gott my brothers regement. Beien ſo neare goeing away, I haue not time to ade more, but M^r^ Jo. B. will be with you to morow, and he will tell you more particularly my thoughts then att this time I can writt them. So hartely wiſhing you your helthe, that your friends may have y^r^ company. Adieu.

For Sir James Turner, att Glaſgow.

28. From Sir James Turner to a Person unknown.

Sir,

I receaved yo^r^ laſt from Ed^r^, wherin you gave me a full account of all paſd at yo^r^ Convention of Eſtates; and indeed, when I ſeriouſlie conſider how things were layd and prepard, and how Duke Hamilton was with ſome conſiderable friends at London when that Convention was called by his Ma^tie^, and how the elections were carried, I can not bot ſay, my lord Duke, by his prudent carriage, rather gained ground then loſt any; you will thinke ſo, when you conſider how many of theſe who had declard to be of his principles, had diſerted him, and gone over to the other partie; and of theſe who were aſhamd to doe ſo, how many rather mutterd then ſpoke out their thoughts. I heard before you wrote to me how the Duke had left Scotland, to ſeeke his health at the baths, where now I conceave he is; bot yow tell me he intends to goe to London before he returne home. Yow tell me D. Lauderdaills animoſitie againſt him continues, and deſires my thoughts of all theſe affaires, which I ſhall give yow very freelie, how wiſely, judge yo^r^ ſelfe.

I thinke my lord Duke of Hamilton hath the wolfe by the eares; he dare neither bite nor let goe. If he goe not to court, his enemie

will tell the king, it is out of difreſpect, and perhaps out of contempt or revenge, becauſe reaſon of ſtate ſufferd not his Ma^tie^ to let the Duke kiſſe his hand laſt ſummer. If he goe to Court, I am affrayd he may once more meet a viſage de bois, the bed chamber doore ſhut vpon him. Bot of tuo evills the leſſe muſt be choſen; my lord, by his goeing to caſt himſelfe and his fortunes at the kings feet, vindicates his loyaltie to the world. If the king refuſe to admit him to his preſence with that affabilitie he honours ſome meaner perſons, the Duke looſeth nothing; for ſoveraigne princes muſt be gained by obſequeouſnes, bot not by reſentment. Yow aſke me, if the Grand favourite continue to perſecute the Duke of Hamilton, what ſhall the Duke doe; I ſhall tell yow, thogh the ſtroke be mainlie and directlie intended againſt the Duke himſelfe, yet by an oblique rebound it will give a ſad blow to all that Illuſtrious family. For this reaſon, I humblie conceave the Duke ſould prefer his libertie to all other concernments, and rather hazard any thing then goe to priſon. I apprehend no danger of that by the tender of his ſervice to the king at Whitehall, ſo it be done before the ſitting of the p^r^liament; for his appearance at that nick will furniſh Lawderdaill ſubject to repreſent to the king groundles feares, needles jealouſies and apprehenſions, well maſked with ſeeming reaſons of ſtate. If my lord get a reall wellcome from the king, he knows then how to take vp his meaſures; if it be bot a ſeeming and a complementall one, I wiſh he wold take it, and goe away with it; for the moſt part of men will thinke his Ma^tie^ is reallie kind to him, and this will doe no hurt; beſides, his Ma^tie^ will have the leſſe jealouſie of him, being he conceaves himſelfe in favour.

Bot yo^r^ great queſtion is, if the Duke perceave that the king hath

no kindnes for him, bot by the ſurmiſes of his enemies entertaines jealouſies of him, what he ſhall doe in that cace. I thinke he can doe but one of three, ſtay where he is in England, goe beyond ſeas, or come home to Scotland. I apprehend as yet no danger of any of the three. Bot he ſhall be a loſer by doeing any of the firſt tuo. If he goe beyond ſeas, firſt he muſt be maintaind thogh Inconnu; nixt the mannagement of his eſtate will ſenſiblie miſſe him; thirdlie, the Dutcheſſe will be diſconſolate; fourthlie, theſe who ſtand yet for him (thogh they be fewer then they were) will fall off, and make their peace, or at leaſt lag behind; laſtlie, he diſerts his oune and the countreys cauſe, and gives it for loſt. I ſay ſtill, if neceſſitie force him not to ſeeke ſhelter abroad, My lord Dukes ſtay in England (vnles he be in favour) will render him contemptible, the object of his enemies ſcorne, and will not ſave him from impriſonment, whenever it is deſigned or concluded. The third is onlie left, to come home, which I humblie thinke is the moſt honorable and ſafe of the three. Honorable, becauſe he may live like himſelf at home, with theſe particular .... ents which ariſe from the pleaſure he hath in his conſort and children, and the converſation of theſe whoſe honor is ſo deare to them, that they will not bow their knee to Baall. Bot yow ſay the danger of impriſonment is ſtill the ſame at home that it was, when the bond and lawborrous were preſt, and the formidable hoſte in the weſt. I grant yow it is ſo, bot the wit of man can not guard againſt all theſe euills and dangers that the wit of man can forſee. If the Duke, by his intelligence, (which I conceave is not impoſſible,) or by ſtrong preſumptions, ſee his incarceration be deſignd, he may make a ſtep with good enough reaſons over to Arran; he hath buſienes to doe

there; he may anſuere all they have to ſay againſt him by his proxies and Advocates; bot if that helpe not, he may without much difficultie get from Arran to ſome other place of the world, and that is the laſt refuge, and ſould be keepd ſo in reſerve. I cannot fancie the eſtate can ſuffer by his retreate, thogh . . . make him fugitive, it is none of his; and I am as ſure, his honor can ſuffer as litle, when armed malice and black revenge, (which know not to be limited by either juſtice, reaſon, law or conſcience,) impoſeth a neceſſitie on him to ſave himſelfe.

I ſaw the Earle of Arran at Paris, ... came from his travels in Italie. I looke on him as a perſon of much honor, a ſmart young lord, and one who in time may prove a very reſenting enemie, which perhaps is, or may be apprehended by my lord Dukes enemies, which, peradventure, may prove a bit to reſtrain ſome of them from offering palpable injuries both to my lord Duke, or any of his familie. . . . I am afrayd yow may aſke me, if miſchiefe be intended againſt both father and ſonne, not that E. Arran hath done any hurt, bot becauſe he may doe it, as it was ſaid of a Duke of Cleve, who hangd young men becauſe they might prove thieves; and vpon this account, to ſave themſelves an after game, clap vp at one and the ſame time both the Duke and E. Arran; what, I ſay, ſhall be done in that cace? Firſt, I ſay, that may be thought of time enough heerafter; ſecondlie, I confeſſe, when I thinke of the ſad fate of an Earle of Douglas and his brother at the caſtle of Edenburgh, and of the lord Home and his brother in the minoritie of James the fifth, I ſould thinke the Duke and his ſonne, if they be in one countrey, they ſould be bot ſeldome in one houſe, till the coaſts be more cleare, and the weather looke fairer; for the ones libertie may ſave the other from impriſonment. I could en-

large this, bot I have ſaid enough to one who can diſcant on this ſubject better then myſelfe. Expect no news from me bot what the gazets brings yow; whether Spaine and Holland will make peace with us heere in france or not, a litle time will diſcover. I pray God keepe yow.

from Havre de Grace,
11 7bris, 78.

29. From the Duchess of Hamilton.

4 Nov. —78.

Your continued reſpects I receue with the ſence I aught, and am altogether of your oppinion, which I beleue my Lord is now of alſo; for in his laſt letter he forbids me to writt more to him. I did deſire James ſhould have come home before this; but his father intending to come, thought fitteſt not to ſend him, but to bring him along with himſelfe. He writts no news to me, but I heard from Ed. what you ſent me, except the taking of the too laſt in the liſte, and that the Marq: Montros is to mary with the blood royall, I heard not; it ſeemes this plot has ben of a long contriueance. I pray God diſcouer all trateres, and then I am confedent we ſhall haue better days. So hartely farwell. My ſeruis to your Lady.

For Sir James Turner, att Glaſgow.

30. From Andrew Toftes.

Right Worshipful, Hamilton 10 Febr^{y} 1679.

Mr Smith did leave theſe books with a manuſcript with me, but

forbad me to ſend them till he wrot from Ed^r to me, which he hes never yet done; but, ſince you ſeem to need them, receive them from the bearer. I have no newes but what are none to yow, that is, touching the tuo Brothers Regiments, and themſelves, to come in place of E. Linlithgow and E. Marr their Reg^ts. I have nothing of certainty; but only it is ſomeq^t probable, if it be not ſtopt by the Councell. Whither my Lord be yet come off or not, we cannot tell, but we expect to hear to-morrow or Wedneſday; but her Grace thinks he may be on his journey, for her laſt letters bore his reſolution of coming o . . . . . inſtant. E. Kincarden comes with him. I . . . . . the condition that becomes me as, Right Worſhipfull, your moſt obliged, faithfull, humble ſerv^t

ANDREW TOFTES.

For Sir James Turner at Gorbells.

31. FROM THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

S^R, 4 March [1679.]

I AM very ſory to hear of your indiſpoſition, and wiſhes yow your health with all my heart, and ſhall be glade to ſee yow here ſo ſoon as yow are able. I do regraite the hard meaſure the Biſhop of Ed^r meets with as much as any; and I beleive all the concernment that S^t Andrews has for it is the preprative; but I will ſay no more till meeting, who am, S^r, your affec^t friend and ſervant,

HAMILTON.

For Sir James Turner.

32. From Andrew Toftes.

Hamilton March 4 1679.

Right Worshipfull,

I delivered yours to his Grace; you have my Lords anſwer incloſed. I have never yet had one ſyllable from Mr Smith ordering the delivery of your papers; but I am glade they came ſafe to your hands, and that I ſent them that day with your man. We have ſome rumours here, not without probable grounds, of their Grace going for England in May, or about that time; for other newes I know none. I am very much grieved to hear of your being ill; I pray God ſend yow health, and it ſhall be deſired by none with more ardor then, Right Worſhipfull, your moſt obliged faithfull humble ſervt

Andrew Toftes.

For Sir James Turner at Gorbells.

33. From the Duke of Hamilton.

5 Febr [1680.]

I received yours, and thanks you kindly for the trouble you have been at in ſpeaking to the Principall and Regents concerning my ſons, to whom I thought it unneceſſary to write to, ſince I am reſolved to be there myſelf w^in a little after the Duke goes from this, who waits onely now for the yaghts; for I intend to go from this to Kinneell, and . . Glaſgow to Hamilton. I am ſory your ouen affaire had no better ſuces, but I confes I expected no better for you, as affairs ſtill contineus;

when I can contribute any thing to your advantage, you may be aſſured of the indevores of your moſt affec^{t} friend & ſervant,

HAMILTON.

34. FROM THE LORD ROSS.

HONNORED SIR, Halkhead the 14. Jan^{y} 1682.

I HAVE juſt now receaved ane order from the General for ſending Captaine Stewarts troupe of Dragouns to Dounce, wher they are to quarter; I ſhall therfore deſyre ye will order them to march from ther preſent quarters, on Munday the ſixteine inſtant, to the toune of Dounce, wher they are to quarter till further order. I doubt not but ye have heard of the late inſollence committed in the toune of Lenerk one Wedneſday laſt. Be pleaſd to cauſe diſpatch the incloſeit to the Generall by a dragoune ſoe soon as is poſſible. Since thes Rebells are begining to apear oppenly againe, I deſyre ye will cauſe yo^{r} Dragouns be in as good a readynes as is poſſible; and I think it wer not amiſs to ſend ſome tomorrow the length of Lenerk, to know the certainty of this. Sir, I am yo^{r} moſt humble ſervant,

ROSSE.

For Sir James Turner, Theſe.

35. FROM THE LORD ROSS.

HONNORED SIR, Glaſgow the 22 Jan^{ry} 1682.

I SEND you heare a nott of the names of ſome of thes who are ſaid to haue been at the late buſſines at Lenerk. I deſyre, therefore, that ye

will ſend a partie of Dragouns to aprehend them if it be poſſible. I ame told that your Livtenant knows moſt of them who lives in the paroch of Cather. This liſt was ſent me from Lenerk by Major Whyt; whoe adds, that at parting he receaved expreſs comand from his Royall Highnes to keepe coreſpondence with me for that effect. I hope ye will order ſwch perſons to goe wpon this partie as will be fitteſt; and whoe, by ther deligence, will inable ws to give a good account of our care and conſerne for the Kings ſervice. I wold have the partie to goe to the places firſt which are neareſt to this, and I wiſh them good ſucces. I am yo^{r} moſt humble ſervant,

ROSSE.

For Sir James Turner, Theſe.

[*On a slip enclosed in the Original.*]

Grays of Cryſtie, in the paroch of Cather, about five mylls from Glaſgow.

John Rwſſall of eaſt feild,
George Hill in Cather crooks,
Wathell in Midowbuckle,
} thes 3 lives in the new paroch of Munklan.

John Wathell in Badſhaw of Lauchope.

Gavine Hamiltone, whos mother lived latly wnder the Laird of Dalyell, at the Baronſhall, near to the Kirk of Dalyell.

36. FROM THE LORD ROSS.

HONNORED SIR, Halkhead the 26 Jan^{y}. 1682.

I THINKE it no great wonder that two troupes ſhould be ſoe ill accommedat in the toune of Lenerk, when I remember what deficulty

we hade to gett intertainment for a much fewer number when I was laſt ther; but it ſeems they have order to mew themſelves within the narrow confyns of that pitifull litle place, ells I cannot beleive they wold willingly reduce themſelves to ſuch ſtraits, as innevitably they moſt undergoe, if the hors and dragouns ſall not be allowed to qwarter in the countrie about. Major Whit never ſignified any thing of ther deſtres, ſoe that I was altogether ignorant of it till I hade it from yow. I remember the Generall ſhew me that he did aprehend ther was a defigne that Claveres ſhould come waſt, but I found him wery avers to it. As for Lieutenant Lawders informatione anent James Gray, I ſhall ſay nothing of it till I returne to Glaſgow; ffor the things taken from the Rebells, I mak not the leaſt doubt of ther being prys. And I think it but a ſmall gratification to give the ſerjeant that litle mear, in conſideratione of his loſs. I doe ſupoſs that both Ruſsall and Hamiltone wer declared fwgitives by the Circwit court which ſatt laſt at Glaſgow. Againſt Munday, I ſhall give yow a mor certaine account, haveing ſent to Edinburgh this laſt week for the letters of denunciatione. I am yo^{r} moſt humble ſervant,

For Sir James Turner Thes. ROSSE.

37. FROM THE LORD ROSS.

HONNORED SIR, Halkhead the 10 of ffeb^{r} 1682.

I HAWE receaved the bound which ye ſent me for thes two priſoners apeirance; I hawe lykewyſe this day taken bound for the four priſoners browght in from Lochenoch; for when I had examined that matter as ſtrickly as I could (heir in the country,) I could find no ground for

apprehending of them; ſoe that I beleive the charactor ye give of the comander of that pairty is jwſt enowgh. If maſter Kenavay reſtore not thes two horſes, which he has no pretence to keep, I think the pairtie owght to be recalled. I ſent yow home yeſterday two of yo^{r} dragouns who wer of M^{r} Kenavays pairtie; I know not give they came to yow, but this was the occaſione. They hade qwartered wpon ſome perſons in Ranfrew, by ane order from the provoſt, becauſe the perſones hade refuſed to pay a ſubſidie impoſed by the provoſt in ane arbitrary way, without the leaſt forme or collor either of law or juſtice, wpon which I commanded them back to ther qvarters; and really this ought not to pas wnpuniſhed, for it will oppen the mouthes of diſafected people to ſay, ther is nothing intended but ane arbitrary gowernment, then which, I am ſure, nothing is mor fals; one of the two whoe was qwartering at Ranfrew, his name is John Ros, a perſone whoſe late miſcarriages in Captaine Hay his company might hawe tawght him mor circomſpectione. I ſhall not be ane ill inſtrument with the Archbiſhope to doe any fawor he thinks fitt, tho few of thes gentlemen have deſerved it at his hands. I deſyre ye will order one of yo^{r} dragouns to cary the incloſed to the Generall, and to delyver the other to the Juſtice-clarke. I am yo^{r} moſt humble ſervant,

To Sir James Turner Thes. ROSSE.

38. FROM THE LORD ROSS.

HONNORED SIR, Halkhead the 16 day of feb^{r} 82.

I BELEIVE the badnes of the way was the cauſe yo^{r} dragoune returned not ſooner. The Generall gave me nottice that he wold recall

maſter Kanavays partie, beſyds which, he ſignified nothing ells to me, exept a comand from the Duke to come in, if it wer poſſible for me; which indeid at preſent it is not. As for Muray, yo^{r} other dragoune, I am ſatisfied he be pardoned. I have given two letters to the bearer, the one to the Generall, and the other to the Treaſurer-deput. I deſyre ye wold ſend them eaſt with one of yo^{r} dragouns, whoe will be carefwll to delyver them. I am, yo^{r} moſt humble ſervant,

For Sir James Turner Thes. ROSSE.

39. FROM THE LORD ROSS.

HONNORED SIR, Halkhead the 6 day of March 82.

JOHN CRIGHTONE, my enſigne, cane teſtifie and ſhow it wnder my hand to him, q^{r}in I told him that I was ſure ye did not know that fellow did belong to me when ye ingadged him, ſoe far I was from intertaineing any miſaprehenſions of yow therein; nor indeid cane I expect any thing of that nature from any body conſerned for the Dutch officers, ſeing I wold willingly doe every thing that might oblidge any of them, and particullarly Captaine Dalyell. As for that fellow Blackburne, the reaſone why I putt him in priſone was, becauſe he declaired he could ſerve no longer in my company; and I am ſure, wer he at liberty, he wold run away befor to morrow, and that is the reaſone why I ſtill detaine him ther. I am yo^{r} moſt humble ſervant,

For Sir James Turner Thes. ROSSE.

40. From the Lord Ross.

Honnored Sir, Halkhead the 8 March 1682.

I hawe receaved a letter from the Generall, daited one munday, wherin he ſhows me his Royall highnes gave order that all the foott at Lenerk ſhould come to Glaſgow; and I hawe accordingly ſent order to Glaſgow for taking wpe qwarters for all the four companyes. Captaine Hay will give yow a letter directed to Major Whit, q^{ch} I hade diſpatched before I receaved yo^{rs}; when it coms to yo^{r} hands, I deſyre ye will cauſe ſend it to Lenerk. As for that fellow ye wreat of, I hope ye will excuſe me when I tell yow that I hawe refuſed him to my brother-in-law, Captaine Ramſey. Sir, I am yo^{r} moſt humble ſervant, Rosse.

For Sir James Turner. Thes.

41. From the Lord Ross.

Honnored Sir, Halkhead the 11 March 1682.

It was ſolly the conſideratione of yo^{r} dragouns advantage which made me ſoe wnwilling to remove them out of the paroch of Govan; for I know not that place in this country wher either they cane ly ſoe contigous, ore be ſoe well provyded in horſs meat, which is a great conſideratione this ſcairs year; and, in my oppinione, the firſt is noe leſs at ſuch a tyme, qwhen the barbarous rebells are cnocking doune thos who ſerue the king in every corner; but ſince ye are ſoe deſyrous to haw yo^{r} dragowns removed, I am ſatisfied that ye qwarter them in the

paroches of Cathcart, Carmanock, and Rutherglen. I am wnvilling to qwarter wpon the barronrie, the Archbiſhope being from home; but I think they wold hawe been better qwartered in the paroch of Eaſter Kilpatrick, and places ajacant, then wher they are goeing, becauſe noe body hath been qwartered ther of a longe tyme. I am yo^{r} moſt humble ſervant, ROSSE.

For Sir James Turner. Thes.

42. FROM JAMES EARL OF ARRAN.

SIR, Ham. March 21 1682.

I HAVE been ſoe often oblidged to yow that I have noe reaſon to dout of your affection, and aſſiſtance to what relaits to my concernes, which makes me croſſe yow with this franckneſſe; for tho I know yow hav had ſeverall officers meaking recrutes amongeſt yow alreadie, and ſoe it will be the hearder taſk now; yet, for old aqwantance ſaik, I will deſir your aſſiſtance for ſome men that I ame leavieng for my oun particular. I intend to be with yow upon thurſday, but thought my giving yow this advertiſment could doe [no] hurt, ſince at the ſaim tyme it is to aſſure yow, that I ame your faithfull freind and ſervant,

For Sir James Turner, at Glaſgow. ARAN.

43. FROM THE EARL OF ARRAN.

SIR, Ham. March 22 1682.

I HAVE juſt now received yours, and am aſhaimed I did not thank yow yeſterday for the letter I had at my arrivall. I ame ſorie that

yow are indiſpoſed, but I thank God I ame not, and as longe as I have health, I think it is the beſt tyme I can emploie to viſit my freinds; ſoe I ſhall not faill fieng yow, and aſſur yow that I ame your affectionat freind and ſervant, ARAN.

For Sir James Turner, at Glaſgow.

44. FROM THE LORD ROSS.

HONNORED SIR, Halkhead the 25 March 1682.

I AM of yo^r^ opinione, that Orbeſtoune might haw ſatisfied himſelf with aprehending ſuch of his oune tenants as wer gultie of the late rebelion, and yet this diſcowerie wold hawe done better hade it been made a twelve moneth agoe; which certainlly I think might hawe been done as well then as now. Ther is noe body, I am certaine, leſs ambitious of command then my ſelf. But yow may remember what orders the Generall was pleaſed to lay wpon me before yo^r^ ſelf; and therfor, wnleſs I know how they are diſpoſed, I cane give him noe account of my deligence: And wpon the other hand, ye know I was alvays ready to comply with every motione ye were pleaſed to make relateing to yo^r^ dragouns: Soe that I am ſure my comands could not be wery burthenſome. In the meine tyme, I doe aſure yow I ſhall be farr from taking nottice of what is paſt, our great buſſines being to ſerve the King faithfully, and not to ſcrew wpe our animoſities and peiks one againſt another. I am, Sir, yo^r^ moſt humble ſervant,

For Sir James Turner. Thes. ROSSE.

45. From the Earl of Arran.

Hamilton March 27 1682.

I have had yours, and ſince my laſt one from Orbiſtoun, wherine he ſeames mightilie ſurprized with my ſever letter; for he tells me ther is not one of thos men that he had ſeazed on that he could not prove ſuch crimes againeſt them, and eſpetialie that man of My Lord Dundonalds, who, he ſayes, was til of lait one of his own tenantes, and that moſt of thes he took wer moſt of them rogges that lived under himſelf, and that he would meak out ſuch thinges againſt them, that they would willinglie goe anie where reather then byde the ſencure of the law. His beinge ſoe poſſitive, has hindred me from writting to my Lord Dundonald, till I ſpiek with him ſelf, who I expect heer this night, and yow ſhall be enformed of what paſſeth. He tels me too ther wer two men that Houſton had given me, and one that Biſhoptoun had done the like with, and your ſergant had ſett all at libertie. I hope Orbiſtoun will wait upon yow, and give yow a particular account himſelf, of the reaſones why he took thos men; at lieaſt if he dont doe itt as he comes upp, I ſhall meak him wait one yow when he comes from hence, and when you are togither you cane agrie what is beſt to bee done. I dont think it fitt for me to writt to the Generall till wee ſee what is repreſented, and then I ſhall not faill to doe what you ſhall think moſt convenient. I hear ther is one Thomas Kennway, that rides in the gward, that goes upp and doun thes countries about Glaſgow, to find out thos that has been acceſſorie or actualie in the laſt rebellions. I beleive if he be dealt with, he may furniſh ſome

men eaſilie, which I begge yow would doe if he be off your acqwantance. I heare ther are juſt now ſome men arrived from Glaſgow, which meakes me ſtop my letter till I know what they are, that I may give yow ane account of them now. My Major is come in, and has brought 13 men alongeſt with him. I have noe more to adde, but that I hope in a litle tyme I may, in ſpytt of ill fortune, meak upp the number I propoſſe to my ſelf. I am your faithfull humble ſervant,

ARAN.

For Sir James Turner.

46. FROM THE EARL OF ARRAN.

Hamilton March 28 1682.

I BEGGE yow a thouſand pardons for detaining your ſervant ſoe long, but juſt as I received yours, I was getting a horſback to taike the aire, which has hindred my writting till now. I find Orbiſtoune continewes to ſay, that thos men he had taiken, he could prove againſt all of them, that they wer in the lait rebellion, ore what would come within the acte of Parliament, which reaches the ſecuring of vagabons and villans; and he ſayes ther wer 12 of thos men his own, and that I might be ſeur he would not, for his own ſaik, ſecure anie men but thos that he might be warranted to doe by law, and that the aſſiſtance he had from yow was what he hopes yow wont be qweſtioned for, when he comes to be examined what men they were he had ſeazed upon; and ſince he came heer, I ſee he has bein thraitned, by ſom of thos men that wer ſett at libertie, to have his hous burnt, as the Laird of Barochan, who was accidentily with him when he was upon that expedi-

tion, has had his hous, as I ame informed. For all this I intend to writt to my Lord Dundonald tomorrow, and follow anie thing yow think fitt to adviſſe me, which is all I have to adde at preſent, but that I ame your faithfull humble ſervant, ARAN.

For Sir James Turner.

47. FROM THE EARL OF ARRAN.

Hamilton March 29 1682.

I AME ſorie yow ſhould haue given yourſelf the trouble of ſending your ſergant or your corporall, ſince yow may be ſeur what ever yow ſay is of more weght with me then that yow nead have taiken this paines of convincing mee. Yow know I ame ignorant of what are the concernes of thos men but as I ame informed, and for my pairt, I will look noe more after them; I wiſh I had neaver meddeled with anie of them, ſince yow rune anie riſque to be blaimed for what yow have done; tho I ame confident, when yow are heard, you'l meet with a very gentill reprooff, if anie. I ſhall not faill to writt to my Lord Dundonald, and tell him that he might be aſſured what ever man of his had been offred me, I would neaver have accepted him if he did not think it fitting, and that I ame ſorrie Orbiſtoun had ſeazed on any of his tenants. Orbiſtoun tells me that he is reſolved to ſeaze on thos that are his oun men, againe to bring them to juſtice; tho for my pairt I caire for none of them, ſince it has maid ſuch a clamour in the contrie, which does my leavies ten tymes more hurt then tuice the number of men could doe me good. I ame ſorie yow euſe the expreſſion of being baiten with double rodes. Yow may be ſeur, as to what

relaits to my pairt, I ame not capable of thinking yow are in the leaſt in the wrong, and I hope thos yow nead to cair for will be off my oppinion; but I think y^e^ beſt will be to let the thing fall to y^e^ ground. I have had three or four voluntires from Ruglen, and I have ingaged one man more, who received my monie voluntarlie, and now refuſes to goe; I think ther can be noe hurt in taiking ſuch a man as that. His naime is John Fairey. I ſent doun one that took one with me to ſee if he could gett anie of his comerades; ſoe this John Faire received my earneſt from the handes of one David Scott, befor ſeverall wittneſſes, but now refuſes to goe; ſoe if yow dont think it [may] bring yow into new trowble, I ſhould deſir yow would caus ſome of thos of your dragowns that ſtay in the place bring him to me. I have noe more to add to this, but that I ame your faithfull humble ſervant,

For Sir James Turner. ARAN.

48. FROM THE EARL OF ARRAN.

Saturday, 4 aclock.

I HAVE juſt now had yours, but I am informed that that Fairie which was taiken one by David Scott, is a luſtie young fellow, and that he who yow talk of is a younger brother; how ever, I ſhall doe what yow will advis me, but I had ſoe manie that have taikin my monie and cheated me, that I ame loth to truſt anie more. Ther is one George Baxter too in Ruglen, who I have bein extraordinary kind too. He came a volontir, and upon that account I was much kinder then to y^e^ others; but now he has taiken my monie thes 8 or ten dayes, and abſents him ſelf; ſoe if under the pretext of ſhairching for the

other, they can fall upon him, I ſhall think it is a good chainge. To ſho how litle I preſſe people, ther came hither a boye to taike one, and nixt day his maſter came from Glaſgow to tell me he was his apprentiſſe, and had rune away upon ſome debait that aroſſe betuixt him and ſome of his other ſervants; immediatly I reſtored the young man, and told him I would protect noe bodies ſervants againſt ther maiſters. I had ſeverall officers with me yeſterday, but Cap: Inis was not amongeſt them, nor did I gett ſoe much as one man. I have now one Captan Cuningame with yow, and if anie of my friends have any reſolutions of letting me have anie more men, I ſhould be glad they would ſend them upp with him. I ſhould be glad to know what I might hope for. I ame jouſt now goeing out to meet my father, who, wee fancie will be heer this night. I have ſo bad a pen, and ame in ſo much haiſt, that I belive you'l heardlie be aible to reed this. I ame your faithful freind and ſervant, ARAN.

For Sir James Turner.

49. FROM SIR THOMAS LIVINGSTONE.

SIR, Lieth 11 April [1682.]

THE dragoene who you have been plaeſed to ſent with a letter, telling me ther is ſix men by the way for my Lord Arans regiment, came to me this morning. It is onpoſſible for me to meet the men my ſelf, but ſchall ſend an officer, in regard we ar to part to morro, and I have ſaeveral buſines. In the maen tyme I ſchal not fael to acquent my Lord Aran of your kyndnes, and remain your moſt humble ſervent,

For Major Turnare att Glaſkoue Thes. T. LEVINGSTONE.

50. From Sir Thomas Livingstone.

Sir,

Since my laſt your dragouns did come heer, bringing along with them fyve men; as for that gentelman Robiſone, I ſchal not fael to recomend him to my Lord Aran, and for my particular, any kyndnes I ame capabel he ſchal diſpoſe of. In the maen tyme, if you plaeſe lye any comands opon me to the plaeſe wheer I ame going, ther ſchal bee no man moor reddi to ſcho hoe much I ame your moſt humble and obedient ſervent,

T. Levingstone.

For Major Turner at Glaſco.

51. From the Lord Ross.

Honnored Sir, Halkhead the 13 Aprill 1682.

I am really ſoe wndeſpoſed ſtill that I am not able to goe about buſſines as formerly; therefore, (till it pleas God) that I recover my health, I ſhall deſyre that ye will qwarter yo^{r} dragounes in the moſt convenient pleaſes ye think fitt, which I ſhall aprow off; I deſyre lykwyſe ye will wreat to Captaine Ingliſh, and ſhow him that I have ane order from the Generall to call ane counſell of warr betwixt his Enſigne Lewies Lawder and ane tenant of the Earle of Lowdons; if Lawder find himſelf in the wronge, I wiſh he may take ſome cours to take it avay, and I ſhall give him all the tyme I can poſibly for doeing of it. In the meine tyme I wiſh he would ſend me a trew acount of the wholl affaire. I am ſory to heir that yo^{r} gutt hath twrned from ill to wors;

ſo ſoone as I am able I hope to ſee yow. I am your moſt humble ſervant,

For Sir James Turner. ROSSE.

52. FROM THE LORD ROSS.

HONNORED SIR, Halkhead the 15 Aprill 1682.

I AM very glade that Enſigne Lawder is come wpe to Glaſgow; I am very deſyrous to ſpeak with him; if ye thinke fitt to ſend him hither, wpone Munday about two a clock in the afternoone, ore any other of the dragouns whoe wer conſerned in that affaire, for I am wery deſyrous to doe them all the right I cane. I wiſh they may make the buſines as clear as is poſible; which, efter I hawe ſpoken with them, I will endeavo[r] to airt them as right (to mak ther oune pairt faire) as I can, for I am a litle conſerned to haw them com hanſomly off in that, if it be poſible. Loudounes officer, called Campbell, was with me, deſyring a continvatione of the counſell of warr till the eighteine of May, which I made him give me wnder his hand as his oune deſyre, but I gave him no aſſurance to delay it for ane hour. Now, if Enſigne Lawder find it more convenient to continowe it till that dyet, ore to hawe it cald mor ſumarlly, I cane doe either of them he finds moſt convenient.

Since I am to ſpeak with the perſons whoe wer actors in that buſines, I will certainly receave a more clear informatione from them then Captaine Ingliſh is able to wreat; and therefor I haw returned yow back his letter. Sir, I am your moſt humble ſervant,

For Sir James Turner Theſe. ROSSE.

53. From the Earl of Arran.

Ham. Ap: 19 1682.

I had yours of the 18 this morning, and has ſpoken to Orbiſtoun about that man Longe. He has promiſed me to talk to the father, who he ſayes he can governe as he pleaſes; and more then that, if the ſon ſhould inſiſt, he can meak out ſuch things againſt him that will taik his life if he ſhould perſew him, ore in the leaiſt revive this affaire. I have had noe letters yett from E^{d}. ſo can tell you nothing about the men, onlie I deſir you would taik one noe more, nor put your ſelf to further trouble, which is all at preſent from your faithfull freind and ſervant, Aran.

For Sir James Turner.

54. From Sir James Turner to the Earl of Arran.

My noble Lord, 21ſt April 1682.

I shall waite vpon yo^{r} lop^{s} direction concerning theſe men I levied for y^{r} lo^{p}, and ſhall meddle no more, hopeing yow will need no more; and if the French king be well naturd, it is probable the Eſtates of the Vnited Provinces will be more readie to diſband then raiſe more forces. I beſeech yo^{r} lo^{p} let me know if I ſhall take theſe drops with cherrie ſacke in the morning, and how long I ſhall faſt after. Bot the maine errand of this letter is to ſhow yo^{r} lo^{p}, that the other day I was told by a friende, that it is certaine that the Deane of Glaſgow, now miniſter at Hamilton, did of himſelfe, without any previous deſire of

the Archbiſbop, promiſe to him not to nominate Doctor Birſbine or Mr William Blaire to be his aſſeſſors when he was rector; and yet, notwithſtanding his promiſe, nominated them both. I am ſorry one who had the generall reputation of an honneſt man, ſould have done any thing like a prevarication; but that which troubled me moſt was, that it is ſaid, your lo^p^ invited and prompted the Deane to doe ſo. Your lo^p^ knows what yow owe to that order re-eſtabliſhd by law, which yow know his Ma^tie^ ownes ſo much, nor needs any man tell yow what reſpect is due to an Archbiſhop whom his Ma^tie^ hath made the third perſon of this kingdom, whoſe authoritie was trampled on by the more than magiſteriall maſters of our univerſitie, particularlie theſe two I juſt now mentioned; and I thinke not onlie the Epiſcopall order, bot the royall power, was wounded through his ſides. How much it may concerne yo^r^ lo^p^ to reverence that function, and theſe who are in it, no bodie needs informe the Earle of Arran. And for theſe two men, I beleeve yo^r^ lo^p^ had reaſon to expect more ſervice to your ſelfe and noble familie from 2 lackeys, than from them both. However, the Deane hath demitted, and Mr Waddell is choſen Rector, who hath nominated none of theſe two gentlemen to be his aſſeſſors. I am ſorry to learn that the phiſitians have yeſterday told my Lord Roſs, that the malignitie of his maladie is above their cure, though not their ſkill. I am, etc.

Gorbells, 21 Aprile, at night.

55. From William Master of Ross.

Halkhead Aprill 25.

Sir,

I receaved yours, and according to your comands delivered the incloſed to my father, who begs your pardon he was not able to writ to you, but orders me to ſhow you he is very ueal ſatisfied with what the general writs to you; he is extraordinarly much better than he uas ſome days befor this and I hop is nou in the way of recovery. I am, Sir, your moſt humble ſervant, W. Rosse.

For Sir James Turner.

56. From the Earl of Arran.

Thurſday y^e^ 4 of May 7 at night.

Since the laſt tyme I troubled yow, I have received a letter from Collo: Douglas, telling that he will receive my men; his ſhip is lieng in Leith Road. I told him I had twelve men, for I thought Orbiſton had had eight. He deſired I may caus imbark 6 men in John Burnſydes ſhip, and 6 in Robert Dumbars; they are both leing togither. I had a letter yeſterday from Orbiſton, telling me he would deliver what men he had to Cap. Douglas, who had promiſed to caus convoy them to the ſhoar. I wiſh yow would enquir what men he has received, and lett me know ther names, togither with the 4 yow have, and the 2 my Lo: Semple promiſed mee. Collo: Douglas tells me the people are verie rude to the officers that embark the men, ſo deſires me to gett ſome diſcriet man to taik caire of thos that are ſent; but I think yow may

talk with Cap: Douglas, and ſend the men with thos Orbiſton has delivered to him. I'l ſwar I ame ſo aſhaimed to euſſe this freedom with yow, that wer itt not that I know you'l forgive me, I ſhould neaver have euſed yow with this freedom. I had letters by the laſt poſt that tels me the Duk was then reſolved to com off one the 5, which, if the nixt poſt confirmes, I wil imediatly goe to Ed^{r}; but, as yett, I have taiken noe other reſolution. So I ame your faithfull freind and ſervant, ARAN.

57. FROM THE EARL OF ARRAN.

Ham. May 6 1682.

I HAVE juſt now had yours, and imediately begune my letter, that your ſervant may be with yow in all haiſte. I confeſſe I ame mor and more amaized at Orbiſtouns cariadge. I think Cap: Douglas is extreamlie in the right; nor did I my ſelf ever underſtand that he ſhould be putt to further trouble, than when they were brought to him, to help them forward with a gwaird, which Orbiſtoun writt to mee he had ingaged to doe, ſince he was to ſend in ſome men however to Coll: Douglas, for his euſſe; ſo I thought it would be all one trouble to carie in a few more, which maid me think of troubling Cap: Douglas. I am afrayed, if the wind comes butt a litle more ſuthward, the ſhipes will be ſayled befor the men gett thither; however, it is but venturing the jurnie. I doe heer ſend yow a letter to the maſters of the two ſhipes, according to your deſir, to receave what men Duncan Grant delivers for my euſſe; but I wiſhe they may be put aboard Collo: Douglas, tho I dont know particularlie which is his; and ſo ſoon as I

hear that y^e^ men are diſpatched, I ſhall writt to Collo: Douglas. I wiſh I knew the poſſitive number, for if they be but 7, I think it wer beſt to ſend them aboard Douglas ſhip; but becaus I told him in my laſt I had a duzen of men, he deſired I might ſend 6 aboard Lif^t^: Collo: Buchan, and the other 6 aboard his ſhip; but if ther be but one mor then the half, I think it beſt not to ſeperat them. I hope yow have not given my aqwittance to Baxters wife, ſince ſhe tels ſo fool-iſh a ſtorie for her huſband, and I meak noe dout to gett him mead wearie of his life heer. But ſince the town of Ruglen ingaged to fur-niſh that man, I don't ſee why they ſhould not meak good ther word. I doe aſſure yow, if I had thought you had had ſo bad a memorie, I had neaver put yow to this trouble; but I thought in comoradſhip one might be aſſiſtant to ane other upon ſuch occaſions as this, but not at the raite yow have eiſſed me, for it has put yow to too much trou-ble, and more coaſt then is fitt to meak a compliment off; which is all at preſent from your faithfull friend and ſervant,

ARAN.

58. FROM THE LORD SEMPILL.

S^R^, Caſtle Sempill, May 6th 1682.

I RECD yo^rs^, and as to thoſe men concerning which yow writ, I keept them ſoe longe untill I did deſpair of yo^r^ ſending for them, while att length there freinds gave boand and caution for them, and now they are att there liberty, for that it can hardly bee expected that they will promiſe willingneſs to goe, which is all at preſent from, S^r^, yo^r^ very humble ſervant,

SEMPILL.

For S^r^ James Turner
att Gorbells Theſe.

59. From the Earl of Arran.

Edr. May 11 1682.

I have bein in ſuch a hurrie ever ſince I came, that I could not diſpatche your dragoun ſooner, which I hope yow will pardon. I was in good hopes to have found yow heer at my arivall yeſterday. I think of goeing allong with the Duk, or to follow him verie ſuddenlie, the Duk goes from hence on Monday or tueſday, which is all at preſent from your faithfull freind and ſervant, Aran.

For Sir James Turner.

60. From the Earl of Arran.

Ed: May 19 1682.

I had yours yeſterday, and was extreamlie ſurprized when yow told me what yow aprehended uas like to befall yow. I aſſur yow, without meaking anie kind of compliment, I ame ſoe much concerned in whatever relaites to yow, that yow may aſſur yourſelf that I will follow anie method yow can propoſſe to doe yow ſervice; but till what yow told me yourſelf, I had neaver heard anie thing of itt, nor could I allmoſt belive it when yow wrott itt. I think yett ſuch meaſures may be taiken that yow will hear noe more of it neather; for according to that ſkeme that was propoſſed, and ſome other changes to attend itt, I heer nothing is like to follow. I goe over to Fife to morrow, and ſhall be back again the midle of the nixt week, and then I intend to begine my journie for London; ſoe if yow have anie commandes for me, I ſhould be glad to have them by that tyme. You may be aſſured of all the freindſhip my father can ſhow yow, and intirlie command your moſt aſſured freind and ſervant, Aran.

For Sir James Turner, att Glaſgow.

61. From the Earl of Arran.

Friday, paſt 7 in the afternoon.

I have juſt now had that which yow wrott at twelve, and ame extreamlie oblidged to yow for the incloſed yow ſent me, but I find I have moſt of them in my liſtes. I ame affraiyed they are all fled ſince I came into this contrie, for I ame a great bogle amongeſt them. I think yow took the beſt courſſe in putting them in to Glaſgow tobuth, and I meak noe dout, when the Generall knowes they are people that are diſturberes of the peace of the contrie, tho it would be heard to meak out particulars againſt them, yett ther being ſent off the contrie I think were noe ill ſervice both to the King and the Governement. I hope my Lord Roſſe will be of the ſaime oppinion. I ame ſeur nothing in the world could afflict me more then that yow ſhould in the lieſt be found fault with upon my account, but I hope yow are in noe danger; but now I muſt begge to know how I ſhall beſtur my ſelf to gett thos men that are in the tolbuth, and the others that the other pairtie will bring alongeſt with them. I intend both Orbiſtown and my Major ſhall come and wait one yow to aſk your advice, and I hope yow will ſpur the officers, that gave me a great mainie fair promiſſes laſt night to be as good as ther wordes. I ſhall add noe more, but impatiently expect what will be the event [of] our endeavours, and aſſure yow that I ame extreamlie ſenſible of your kindneſſe, and ſhall ever be your faithfull friend and ſervant,

Aran.

For Sir James Turner.

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